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Book 553

THE HERO OF FOUR WARS:

ELIJAH SHAW'S NARRATIVE

OF HIS

21 YEARS SERVICES IN THE AMERICAN NAVY,

AND SOME OF THE

BRILLIANT EXPLOITS

OF

~~AMERICAN SEAMEN,~~



DURING THE

WAR WITH FRANCE IN 1798;

“ “ TRIPOLI—1802 to 1805;
“ “ ENGLAND—1812 to 1815;
“ “ ALGIERS—1815 to 1816;

AND THE

Suppression of the Pirates--1822 to 27.

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A SHORT
SKETCH OF THE LIFE
OF
ELIJAH SHAW,

WHO SERVED FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS IN THE U. S. NAVY, TAKING
AN ACTIVE PART IN

FOUR DIFFERENT WARS
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES & FOREIGN POWERS:



Viz.—I. WITH FRANCE.....IN 1798 ;
II. WITH TRIPOLI ..FROM 1802 TO 1805 ;
III. WITH ENGLAND..FROM 1812 TO 1815 ;
IV. WITH ALGIERS..FROM 1815 TO 1816 : AND

ASSISTED IN SUBDUING THE PIRATES,
From 1822 to 1824.

And in 1843 entered on board the “Old Ship Zion,” under a
New Commander, being in the 73d year of his age.

THIRD EDITION.

ROCHESTER :

E. SHEPARD, MAMMOTH PRINTING-HOUSE, 20½ STATE-STREET.

1845.

DIMENSIONS OF THE U. S. SHIP-OF-WAR P E N N S Y L V A N I A.

THIS Ship is the largest that we have in our navy, or that has ever been built by any nation.

Size of said ship,.....300 feet in length; beam, 67 feet;
Drawing 37 feet of water.

Hull,.....40 feet out of water.

Height of her main-mast,290 feet;

Spreading 37,000 yards of canvass.

1,500 men to man her, including officers.

160 pieces of cannon;

Discharging 633 lbs of powder and one ton of shot.

The amount of PROVISIONS consumed in one year :

Pork,.....	114 tons 800 lbs.
Beef,	144 tons 200 lbs.
Bread,	258 tons 600 lbs.
Flour,	780 barrels.
Beans,.....	1,228 bushels.
Rice,.....	1,228 bushels.
Cheese,.....	17½ tons.
Butter,	8½ tons.
Molasses,.....	5,200 gallons.
Vinegar,	2,600 gallons.
Raisins,.....	8½ tons.
Water,.....	547,500 gallons.

The amount of WAGES and VICTUALING, \$1 per day per man, including officers.

Whole amount of expenses for the maintenance of the vessel one year, 547,500 dollars.

The outlay caused by the wear-and-tear of the vessel will be about equal to that for its maintenance; making the total annual cost of the ship over a million of dollars.

Ms. A. 9. 2. 1. 1
G. F. G.
P R E F A C E.

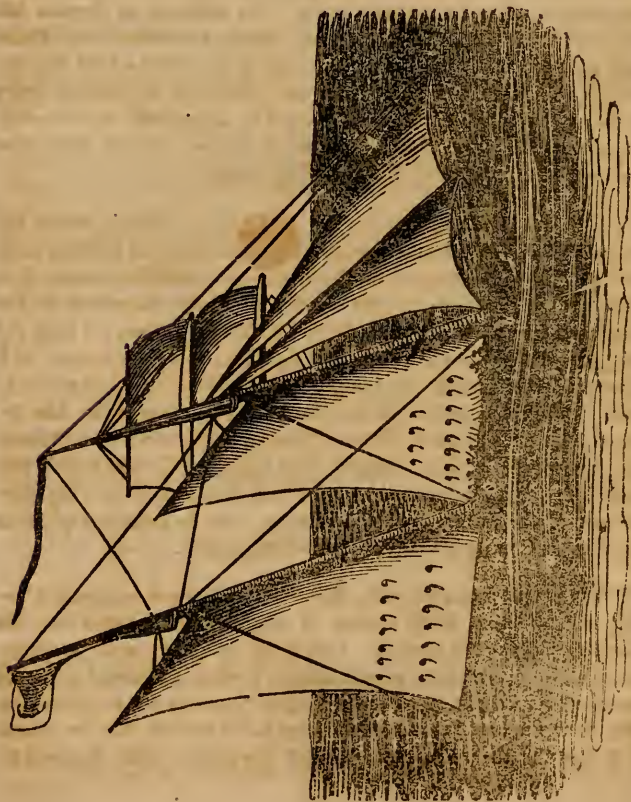
IN presenting this publication to the world, the author deems it necessary to say, at the outset, that the reader will be disappointed if he expects to find its narratives given in any other than a plain, straightforward, matter-of-fact style. No attempt at flourish has been made. Indeed, the want of an ordinary education would forbid such an attempt. Still, the author cannot but believe that the nature of the narratives here given can hardly fail to interest every reader, and especially every true-hearted American reader—embracing, as they do, some of the most brilliant battles that were ever fought by the navy of the United States.

The object of the author, in thus throwing this work before the public, is twofold. In the first place, he believes that nothing is so well calculated to keep alive the flame of patriotism, which, it is to be presumed, burns in the breast of every American, as the occasional perusal of the difficulties which, as a nation, we have not only been obliged to encounter, but have honorably overcome; and, secondly, he is anxious, by the proceeds of the sale of the work, to make all the remuneration in his power for the kindness he has received from the people of Monroe County, who, when he hungered, gave him meat; when a stranger, took him in, and when naked, clothed him: for it may as well be remarked, first as last, that the misfortunes of the author compelled him, in 1841, to seek an asylum in the Monroe County House, where he yet remains.

It has passed into a proverb, that “Republics are ungrateful”—with what justice, every person of common intelligence has the means of judging for himself. One thing, however, must be admitted by all—the American government is neither so liberal as most foreign governments, in extending aid to those of its subjects who have spent the best years of their lives in its service, nor as liberal as it has the means of being. But the author is not disposed to

complain of this neglect, so far as he is individually concerned. Without becoming the recipient of his government's favors, he has, until within a year or two, succeeded in providing himself with the necessities of life ; and he doubts not, that for the necessarily brief span of time allotted him here, He, who feedeth even the fowls of the air, will not suffer him to come to want.

Rochester, July 4, 1843.



LIFE OF ELIJAH SHAW.

CHAP. I.

Birth and Parentage—Revolutionary War—Continental Money—Sufferings incident to settling in a new Country—Commencing the World—Loss of three Years' Wages—New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

I was born in the State of Vermont, on the 22d day of January, 1771. My parents, though poor, bore an irreproachable reputation. I received that kind of advice from them which parents, who take an interest in the welfare of their children, are wont to impart to them; but as soon as my back was turned upon home, I paid little or no attention to it. They frequently assured me, that if I heeded not their admonitions, I should have abundant reasons for regretting it through life : I have found their words literally true.

I was about six years of age at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. My father zealously espoused the cause of his country, from the outbreak of the difficulties, and soon obtained a lieutenant's commission. After serving four years under his commission, he was taken prisoner at the Horse Neck, about thirty miles from New York. His commanding officer, at the time, was Gen. Putnam. His eldest brother was taken prisoner at the same time. After the British gained possession of New York, my father and uncle were put on board the old Jersey ship, then used as a prison ship, and lying at the time where the Navy Yard now stands. They remained thus in duration through the winter, when actual starvation ended the sufferings of my uncle ; my father, about the same time, making his escape by swimming ashore. A large number of the other prisoners were also starved to death.

My father soon joined the service again, receiving a captain's commission, and remained in the service until the close of the war. He received his pay in "Continental money," and returned to his family. This money soon become of no more value than an equal amount of waste paper ; and thus was my father cheated out of the six or seven years' hard service he had rendered his country.

Shortly after the ratification of peace, my father removed to the town of Springfield, Otsego county, New York. The country was new at the time, and he settled on a piece of land in the woods, at least a mile from any other house. Being poor, and depending upon his own hands for the support of his family (though, as the oldest of the children, I was able to render some assistance,) our sufferings were extremely severe. For the first two years, we often considered ourselves fortunate if we got even a piece of johnny-cake, or a potato, for supper.

I remained with my father, until I was nineteen years of age, when he gave me my time. I thereupon proceeded to Albany, but found no situation that pleased me. From Albany I went down the North River to Hudson, where I fell in with a cooper by the name of Thomas Rogers, and engaged to work one month for him at getting out staves. At the expiration of the month, he paid me eighteen dollars, the price agreed upon, and advised me to learn the cooping business. He agreed, if I would stay with him three years, to learn me the trade, and pay me six dollars per month for the first year, nine the second, and twelve the third and last. Being satisfied with the offer, I entered into articles of agreement to work for him the three years upon the terms proposed.

After remaining with Mr. Rogers for about two and a half years, I discovered there was a prospect of his failing, and told him I could work no longer without security. He then owed me one hundred and eighty dollars. He very readily gave me a bill of sale of a span of horses and two cows, the horses being valued at two hundred dollars. I felt satisfied, and worked out the remainder of my time, and upon settlement found he owed me two hundred and thirty dollars. He told me he had not the money, and I must sell the property. I accordingly advertised it; but on the day of sale, his son-in-law came forward and produced a bill of sale dated six months previously to mine; and of course I lost every cent of Mr. Rogers' indebtedness to me.

I then went about four miles from Hudson, and hired out for six months at eighteen dollars per month; but by working extra hours, completed my six months' work in four. I received my pay according to agreement, and set sail for the city of New York. Here I found employment at my trade, and remained about a year. I next went to Philadelphia, where I worked about a year; then to Baltimore, where I obtained employment for about six months; then back to Philadelphia, and after remaining there a few days, returned to New York, and commenced work again for the man who had before employed me there. During the two and a half years I was thus dodging about, I laid up little or no money, having found abundant opportunities for spending it.

CHAP. II.

War between the United States and France—Sailing of the American Squadron from Norfolk to the West Indies—Cruising for the enemy—Fall in with and conquer a vessel of superior force—"First impressions of an engagement"—Ultimate wreck of our prize.

The war between the United States and France, originating in an attempt on the part of the latter named country to make us a party in the war she was then waging with the despots of Europe, commenced in 1798. At that time I was in New York. Thinking it would be a fine thing to go to sea, I entered the navy for two years; but actually served in it for twenty-one years, seven months, and five days, during which time I took part in the difficulties of the United States, 1st, with France—2d, with Tripoli—3d, with Great Britain—4th, with Algiers—5th, with the Pirates.

But I am proceeding rather too rapidly, and must "begin at the beginning." I was transferred to the frigate *Constellation*, rated at 36 guns, but actually carrying 44, under the command of Commodore Truxton. The crew consisted of 350 men, including the officers. I went as cooper of the ship. We lay in New York about one month, when we sailed for Baltimore, and took in the remainder of our sea stores, after which we proceeded to Norfolk.

After remaining at Norfolk a short time, we proceeded to the W. Indies, in company with the frigates *United States*, the *John Adams*, the *Congress*, the *Little Adams* of 32 guns, the *Little York* 32, the *Connecticut* 36, *Boston* 36, & *Gen. Green* 36; *Brigs Siren* and *Argus*, each 16 guns, and schooner *Enterprize*, of 14 guns. We bade farewell to the United States with three hearty cheers, resolved to conquer the French, or die. Old Neptune favored us with pleasant gales, and on the eighteenth day we arrived in sight of the West Indies. Our orders were to separate, and to cruise off different islands, and to take, burn, sink, or destroy all French vessels we encountered, and not to disgrace the American colors by hauling them down to an equal force.

We had been cruising off different islands for about three months, without finding any game, when we fell in with a French ship, the *Insurgente*, of 50 guns. We hoisted French colors, and stood for her. She immediately hauled down her colors and hoisted the American, and bore down upon us. We then hauled down the French colors and hoisted the American, and made a signal; but she was not able to answer the signal, and made all sail she possibly could from us. At the time, we were about ten miles from her. We immediately crowded all the sail we could, and prepared for a chase. The wind was at the rate of ten knots an hour.

This was about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Before sundown we were within about five miles of the vessel. The following was a pleasant moonlight night, and we gained upon the enemy about a mile. In the morning we felt convinced that we should be able to

bring her into action before twelve o'clock. We were about half a mile to the windward of her ; but seeing our advantage, she tacked ship at eight in the morning, with the view of getting the weather gage of us. We also tacked, determined to maintain, if possible, our favorable position. The enemy stood on her course for about five miles, when she squared away before the wind, and set studding sails fore and aft, at the same time crowding all the sail in her power. We immediately followed suit, and rapidly gained upon her. About twelve o'clock she commenced firing across her stern chasers, which added to her headway ; but as it would have lessened our speed to fire our bow chasers, we concluded not to return the salute until we could do it from another quarter of the vessel. At the time, we were about two miles from the Insurgente, and all her shots dropped astern of us.

I may here remark, that I now for the first time wished myself back in the woods. I was a new beginner at the work, and did not like the idea of being made a mark for the French to shoot at. I was stationed with the ship carpenter at the pumps—it also devolving upon us, if necessary, to use the shot-plugs. I did not think so much of being at the pumps as I did of being over the side of the vessel, stopping the shot-holes. Directly, we received a shot in the bow, which passed quite through, and I was ordered to go over and stop the hole. This being the first shot we had received, and not relishing the errand, I would have given my jacket and old tarpaulin to have been on *terra firma* ; but I mustered all the courage I could, went over the bow, and soon succeeded in stopping the hole. By the time I had fairly finished the unwelcome job, another shot struck the starboard bow, close by the cutwater, and not more than five feet from me. I do not know what my appearance must have been at that moment ; but I can assure the reader, that my feelings were anything else than agreeable. However I soon sung out, with a great deal of apparent courage, "Pass me another shot-plug, for our French neighbors are beginning to fire very carelessly : " and this hole, also, I soon stopped.

The French now took in their studding sail, and we followed suit. This was to our advantage, as we were to the windward. We were now about one and a half miles from the enemy. About three o'clock P.M., we luffed up within three-quarters of a mile of her, and gave her the first broadside. The shot did good execution. We cut her spars, rigging, and hull. We gave her the second broadside, when she hoisted her colors, hauled up the courses, clewed up her top-gallant sail, and commenced action. We manœuvred to get nearer to her, but not with as much success as we wished. We generally gave three broadsides to her two, raking her hull to good effect. Her shots often struck the water before reaching us, and rising from the water, passed over our heads, not doing much injury. In the course of half an hour, we got so close to her, that we made

use of grape shot, double-headers, bar shot, star shot, cannister and round shot, at the same charge. We still made sad work with her hull ; and our small shot, passing into her port-holes, peppered her men nicely.

About three glasses, (or one hour and a half,) after the commencement of the engagement, the enemy struck her colors. We lowered our boats for boarding—when she hoisted her colors again, and renewed the action. By this base trick we received considerable damage. We were much exposed at the time, little expecting a shot from the vessel after she had hauled down her colors, and acknowledged herself conquered. However, our men were soon at their guns again, and we returned the shot, two to one. After continuing the action about twenty minutes longer, the *Insurgente* hauled down her colors the second time ; but having no idea of being caught by the same trick again, we gave her five good broadsides in rapid succession. She then hoisted her colors with the union down—a sign of distress ; and well she might, for her hull was comparatively cut to pieces, and she was taking in water very fast. We hauled alongside, and boarded her ; but still the Frenchmen appeared not satisfied, and it was not without the shedding of more blood that we compelled them to lay down their arms, and confined them in irons below. We stopped the leakage as much as possible, and repaired her spars and rigging sails ; but found it difficult to get her into port, she was so much damaged. The port we put into was St. Croix.

The crew of the *Insurgente* consisted of 700 men, and she carried 50 guns. We carried 44 guns, and our crew, as before stated, consisted of 350 men. Our killed and wounded numbered 37, and those of our enemy 320.

At St. Croix, our own vessel and our prize were repaired. A prize-master and one hundred men, including officers, were then put on board the latter vessel, and she sent to Baltimore, where she arrived safely. She was afterwards thoroughly repaired, and manned with American seamen, and started for the West Indies, to join our squadron ; but, unfortunately, she never reached the place of her destination. From the best information that could be obtained, she is supposed to have been wrecked upon the Florida shoals, and all on board to have perished. Some of these shoals extend a great distance from the shore, and many vessels have been lost upon them for want of a correct knowledge of them.

CHAP. III.

Return to our old Cruising Ground—A French 74 fell in with—Dare not risk an Engagement with her—Capture a French merchantman—Fired her, to prevent her recapture by the 74—Escape from a net of our own setting—A gale—Peace between the United States and France—Return Home.

After the sailing of our prize for Baltimore, we again returned to our old cruising ground, in hopes of falling in with another vessel of

the enemy ; but having, apparently, no very great desire to encounter the "Yankee boys," as they called us, they kept out of sight for some time. One night, however, after we had been out about two months, we hove in sight of a French 74, and exchanged a few shots with her, little injury being done on either side. We had discovered enough of her to know that her force was far superior to ours, and not coveting an engagement under such circumstances, we availed ourselves of the darkness to get out of her reach.

In the morning, we discovered her about ten miles to the leeward of us. She crowded additional canvass, and prepared to give us a chase ; but as the *Constellation* was an excellent sailer, we were easily enabled to keep out of her way. We did not choose, however, to exhibit the strength of our speed, by spreading all our sail, as we were in hopes of soon falling in with some of our other cruisers. But in this we were mistaken. Our enemy discovered that we were trying to deceive her, and gave up the chase. The next day she fell in with the frigate *United States*, and a few shots were exchanged between the two vessels. From the same motives that influenced us, the *United States* had considered it advisable to make her escape, and the very next day fell in with us. It was unfortunate that we did not keep in sight of the enemy, as we could undoubtedly have captured her, with the assistance of the *United States*.

We cruised for several days in sight of the *United States*, in hopes of encountering the French 74 again, but without success. We were separated one night in a gale, and continued cruising by ourselves for some time, without seeing anything of the enemy.

After being out about three months, we put into Kingston, on one of the Jamaica islands, for the purpose of overhauling our rigging and sail, and to obtain fresh sea stores. We afterwards repaired to our old cruising ground, and soon fell in with a merchant vessel of two hundred tons, and carrying fifty-two men and officers. She was from Bordeaux, in France, and bound for Cuba, with a cargo of silks and fine linen. We had little difficulty in taking her, and intended to put into Kingston with her. But very much to our chagrin, on the second day after this, the French 74, to which allusion has already been made, hove in sight ; and the only alternative left us, was either to give up our prize, or become a prize ourselves to the French. We determined at any rate, that neither the merchantman nor her cargo should fall into the hands of the French again. She was accordingly ordered along side of us, and the men, provisions, and a few bales of silks and linens taken off, and fire applied to her. If we could have taken her into port she would have proved a rare prize, the value of her cargo having been estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Our French neighbor evidently determined to punish us, if possible, for the destruction of her friend, the merchantman, and accordingly crowded all sail and bore down toward us. But we had no fears of her, having once ran away from her, and knowing that we

could do so again. All we cared about, was to keep at a safe distance from her, in hopes of meeting with another of our cruisers—in which event we would have given her battle to her heart's content. But the net we were attempting to set for her, came near entangling ourselves. On the afternoon of the next day, two additional sails were descried from our mast head. In hopes that they might be friends we stood for them; and after approaching sufficiently near made a signal, but it was not answered. Our suspicions that the vessels—one of which proved to be a frigate, the other a sloop—belonged to the enemy, were soon confirmed, by their answering the signal of our pursuer. The three vessels immediately attempted to surround us, but the *Constellation* proved too fast for them; and the next morning neither of them was to be seen.

We continued cruising several days without falling in with any vessel. About this time we encountered a severe gale, and sustained considerable damage. Our main-top mast, top-gallant mast, and jib-boom, were carried away, and our rigging and sail much injured. But the most melancholy effects of the gale, were the loss of two men overboard, and the killing of one by the carrying away of the main-top mast.

We put into a port on the island of *Burmuda*, to repair, and while there the frigate *United States* came in dismasted. Having remained here about six weeks, we returned to our old field of labor, but cruised four or five weeks without seeing anything of the enemy.—We then changed our ground more to the windward of the island, but with no better success.

It was now, for the first time, that we received news that there was some prospect of peace between the two countries; and orders were sent us to return to port and hold ourselves in readiness for action again, in case the negotiations should fail. We accordingly returned to *Kingston*, and after remaining there about two months, news of peace was received, and with it, orders to return home.

We set sail about ten days after this for the city of *Washington*, which place we reached on the nineteenth day, having had a very pleasant passage. Four vessels of the squadron arrived before we did. The exact number of prizes taken by the squadron, I do not now recollect, but it was quite large. We lost but one vessel.

CHAP. IV.

Amount of Prize Money, &c.—An East India Speculation—Turn Ship Carpenter—Return to New York—An old Ship Mate—Make the Acquaintance of a Young Lady, and finally Marry her.

About a week after we arrived at *Washington*, we were paid off and discharged. I had served one year and nine months. The

amount of my prize money was three hundred and twenty dollars, and that of my wages about three hundred dollars. I designed putting out five hundred dollars of my money at interest ; but was persuaded to invest it in an East India vessel, being told that it would double, without doubt, in the course of two years. At the time, there was a vessel lying at Alexandria, six miles below Washington, that was to sail in a few days ; and I had many pressing invitations to invest my money in her. I finally entered into writings with her owners, by which it was agreed that they should receive, for the incidental expenses of the vessel, their own trouble, &c., all over one hundred per cent. that my money should earn, and that in the event of the loss of the vessel, I should claim no part of the money thus invested.

Soon after making this investment, I commenced work in the Navy Yard, at the ship carpenters' business. Having a pretty good knowledge of tools, I was paid one dollar and fifty cents per day.—At first my work principally consisted in dressing lumber. After working about three months, my wages were raised to two dollars per day. I remained at the same wages some nine months longer, when I went to New York. My reasons for doing so, were two fold—in the first place, wages were considerably higher there than at Washington ; and secondly, nature having blessed me with uncommon strength, when any heavy lifting was to be done in the yard at Washington, I was always called upon to take a part in it, whether it directly pertained to my department of labor or not. I may remark in this connection, that at that time I weighed two hundred and ten pounds, and could easily carry a stick of timber that would require the united strength of almost any other two men in the yard.

At New York, I went to work for a man by the name of Noah Brown, who was engaged at ship building on a larger scale than any other person in the city—giving employment to some five hundred men. He paid me two dollars and twenty-five cents per day. After working at dressing timber and plank for about six months, I changed my employment to spar making, wishing to obtain as general a knowledge of the ship building business as possible.

A short time after this, I obtained a situation in the United States Navy Yard. The work not being as heavy there, (there being a large number of laboring men lying in ordinary, who did most of the drudgery,) and being obliged to labor but ten hours in the day, and the pay being sure, I very readily consented to a reduction of twenty-five cents per day from my former wages.

Some three months after this, I received intelligence that the vessel in which I had invested my all, while on her homeward passage, was wrecked, and her cargo and part of her crew lost. Thus were my high anticipations of becoming rich so soon and with so little trouble to myself, blasted in a moment. This made my loss, since

I commenced the world for myself, between eight and nine hundred dollars ; and I began to think that fortune had no favors in store for me. However, I was not then penniless, having some four hundred dollars on hand, and striving to forget my misfortunes, continued my work with as stout a heart as possible.

About this time I fell in with a young man, who was a shipmate of mine on board the *Constellation*, when cruising off the West Indies. His father lived in Westchester county, about twenty-two miles from New York. He one day invited me to accompany him to his father's, on a visit, which invitation I very cheerfully accepted, glad to leave, for a brief season at least, the noisy and bustling metropolis. The ride being a most delightful one, these visits were followed up by us every week or two, especially in the season of fruit—usually going out on Saturday and returning on Monday.—During these visits I became acquainted with a young woman of respectability, who was reared in the family of my shipmate's father. Being thrown into company so often, an acquaintance necessarily followed, and this acquaintance soon resulted in a mutual attachment between us. I do not wish, however, to trespass upon the patience of the reader by entering into the details of this affair of our affections—suffice it to say, we were married. One very prominent motive I had in thus changing my condition, was a wish to settle down in life, convinced that my roving habits for some years had not, to say the least, added to my coffers, and believing that a wedded life would thoroughly wean me from a desire to renew those habits.

CHAP. V.

War between the United States and Tripoli—Sailing of the Squadron—Arrival off Tripoli—An engagement, resulting in the sinking of one the Enemy's Boats, and the capture of another—Narrow Escape.

The difficulties between the United States and Tripoli, one of the Barbary States, occurred, it will be recollected, in 1801. Our government had previously been obliged to pay some of the other Barbary States heavy tributes to induce them to cease their annoying attacks upon the American merchant vessels trading in the Mediterranean ; and the Bashaw of Tripoli, Jessuf Caramalli, offended because the tribute paid him was not equal to that paid some of his neighbors, became arrogant and insulting in his demands, and renewed his depredations upon our vessels. Such conduct was not to be tamely submitted to by our government ; and a squadron was fitted out for the Mediterranean, not only to awe Tripoli by its presence, but the other Barbary States.

The squadron consisted of the following named vessels : The frigates, *United States* of 44 guns, *President* of 44, *Constitution* of 44,

Congres of 36, Constellation of 36, John Adams of 36, Philadelphia of 36, Little Adams of 22, and Little York of 22; the brigs, Siren of 16, Argus of 16, and Vixen of 14; the schooner Enterprise of 14; besides some six or eight vessels for throwing shells and bombarding. The squadron, as is well known, was placed under the command of Commodore Preble.

I entered the Navy in the fall of 1802, (after the war had been prosecuted about a year,) determined to try my fortune once more upon the water. This was about three months after my marriage. When I first informed my wife of my intentions, it deeply affected her. It was some day before I could reconcile her to the idea; but at length she yielded, though in doing so it evidently cost her a great effort. And this is not to be wondered at. She had fondly calculated upon my leading a more domestic life than I had done before; and to be separated from her so soon, was most trying to her feelings. At best,

"A life on the ocean wave"

is none of the most secure; but when are added to it the dangers of war, and war too, with a barbarous people, it becomes in the estimation of a young wife, one of unparalleled hazard.

I was transferred to Philadelphia, under the command of Commodore Brainbridge. I entered as ship carpenter, my wages being twenty-two dollars per month.

My wife accompanied me to Philadelphia, where our vessel was built by a donation from the ladies of that city, and presented to the United States, and where she was then lying. She finally sailed from New Brunswick, in the State of New Jersey, whither my wife accompanied me. For the few weeks we remained at New Brunswick, permission was granted me to spend most of my time on shore with my wife. Before sailing, I gave her three hundred dollars, and a half-pay ticket, on which she could draw every three months one-half of my wages—viz., thirty-three dollars.

Sailing orders were at length received from the Secretary of the Navy. The squadron was to proceed to Gibraltar, and to await the orders of Commodore Preble. At the appointed hour, a farewell having previously been taken of our friends, anchors were weighed, and amid salutes and cheers from on board and on shore, our sails were spread to the wind, and we launched out upon the ocean.

The next day we lost sight of the American shore, though not until we had experienced some severe squalls; and on the forty-seventh day after, if my memory serves me, we arrived at Gibraltar.—Some of the other vessels of the squadron, having sailed from other ports, arrived before we did, among which was our flag ship. We soon after received orders to proceed to Syracuse, in Sicily, to take in water, and to make such repairs as were needed;—Having done so we weighed anchor for Tripoli—our orders being to

take, burn, sink or destroy the vessels of the enemy not only, but all vessels that might attempt to supply them.

We cruised off Tripoli until the arrival of our fire ships, and commenced operations by throwing shells into the city, and by occasionally firing guns at the fort—our shots generally being returned, but without any damage to us. With the exception of the capture of a Greek vessel that was supplying the Turks with provisions, little, however, was done, until the arrival of the gun-boats.

The Turks had about one hundred and fifty gun-boats and row-gallies, some of which carried two long thirty-two pounders and thirty or forty men; but they appeared much better skilled in the use of the sword and cutlass, than in that of guns.

Ship number four having no carpenter, I was called upon one day to go on board of her and make some slight repairs. Lieut. Somers accompanied me. The vessel at the time was lying about twenty miles from the city, and some distance from the rest of the squadron. After the repairs were made, our commander proposed, if volunteers could be raised, to run in and exchange a few shots with the Turks. There were but eighteen on board, including the Commander, all of whom readily volunteered. There was about an eight knot breeze at the time. We run in near the battery, though not within reach of their guns, and lay off and on for some time, for the purpose of decoying them out; and soon had the pleasure of seeing two boats push out towards us. Each of these boats carried 36 men and two 32 pounders. They ventured about four miles from the battery; but being resolved, apparently, not to get farther from their friends, we opened our gun upon them. I say *gun*, for we had only men enough to work one gun at a time—a thirty-two pounder. We had two of that class on board, and when one became hot we used the other.

The boats of the enemy were very low, and we had to take as close aim as we would for a duck. Ninety-two shots were fired without any perceptible effect; but the ninety-third struck one of the boats between wind and water, and she immediately sunk. The other then steered for the harbor. We followed her, crowding all the sail we could. We gained upon her rapidly; and when within pistol shot, our large and small guns being well loaded, we received orders to fire. The fire did tolerable execution. I had taken deliberate aim at the Tripolitan captain; but unfortunately my musket exploded, injuring my left hand to such an extent as to render the thumb and one finger useless, and breaking the first joint of one of the fingers on my right hand.

By this time the boats were along side, and we had orders to board. I jumped upon the bulwarks of the enemy's boat, receiving at the same time a blow from a cutlass, on the back part of my ankle, just above the quarters of my shoe, which severed the main cord. I immediately sprang on the deck, but striking my other foot

on one of the ring bolts, I broke my ankle directly above the joint. Sprawling upon deck, and unable to rise, I discovered the Turk from whom I had received the first injury, sitting between me and the bulwarks. He was wounded in one of his legs, and was also unable to rise. He made a pass at my head with his cutlass, cutting through my hat and a silk handkerchief, and leaving a gash some two inches long in my head. I partly recovered, and made a thrust at him. He parried the blow, breaking about two inches from the end of my cutlass, and making another hole through the fore part of my hat. Thinking of my pistols, I drew one of them with my left hand, shattered as it was, being obliged to use my right in defending myself. I took as good aim as I could, and was fortunate enough to give the fellow the entire contents of the pistol—one ball and three buck shot. He immediately expired.

The rest of the enemy were by this time killed, with the exception of seven, who had jumped overboard. We took our prize in tow as soon as possible, not being then very well prepared to risk a brush with a number of gun-boats which had just put out from the battery. These boats, however, did not venture very near, as some of our own vessels had already started to our assistance. The next day I was taken on board the *Philadelphia*, and my wounds dressed. My messmates gave me three cheers as I reached the deck, and “spliced the main brace,” in other words, treated me to an extra glass of grog. There was but one of our men wounded besides myself. He received a blow in his right hand, by which he lost the use of it.

CHAP. VI.

The Philadelphia aground—Capture of her Officers and Crew—Description of Tripoli—Inhumanity of the Turks towards their Prisoners.

Not long after the skirmish just narrated, we gave chase to a Greek vessel loaded with provisions for the enemy. After pursuing her as near the battery as we deemed it prudent, without being able to intercept her, our commander ordered the ship to be put about. While in the act of doing so, she most unfortunately ran upon a reef of rocks; and every attempt of the crew, on the spur of the moment, to get her off, proved fruitless. We were out of reach of the batteries: but immediately one hundred or more gun-boats and galleys put out from the shore, and completely surrounded us. As our vessel careened badly, the guns on one side pointing into the air, and those on the other into the water, the Commodore saw that resistance was worse than useless, and surrendered at once. Here let me remark, that this misfortune is not justly attributable to Com-

modore Brainbridge, as this reef was not laid down on the maps and charts of the harbor with which he had been furnished.

On board the Philadelphia were a little over three hundred souls, about twenty of whom were officers. We were immediately forced on board the Turkish gun-boats, taken ashore, and confined in prison. We were stripped of our clothing, and each man supplied with a frock reaching the hip, and petticoat-trowsers reaching an inch or two below the knee. We were then ironed down to the stone floor, twelve men in a room, our feet about twelve inches apart, and our hands fastened to an iron passing across our breasts, so that we could not turn our bodies on either side.

Each morning our irons were loosed, and we taken out into the yard. The prison was surrounded with a small wall about twenty feet high, the yard containing about an acre of ground. We were permitted to remain in the yard about an hour, during which time our daily allowance of food was served to us. This consisted of a biscuit of ground beans and barley, unsifted, and weighing about five ounces, three ounces of goat's meat, and one gill of sweet oil. We usually soaked our biscuits in water, and then ate them with the oil—making one scanty meal answer for three. This was our manner of living for the nineteen months and seven days we remained prisoners. It should be added, however, that we always had as much water as we wished, and that, too, of a superior quality. At the expiration of the hour, the Turks would march us back to the prison, iron us down, and allow us to remain in that situation until about sundown, when we were again granted an airing of some fifteen minutes' duration, after which we would retire to our night's rest, if rest it could be called.

After being thus confined for about two weeks, we were put to work, some at carrying bags of sand, and others drawing stone, for the completion of the wall around the city. The city is about ten miles in circumference, and is surrounded with water, with the exception of a narrow neck that connects it with the main land. At that time the wall was complete, except about a half a mile across this neck. The wall was twenty-four feet high, being thirty-six feet thick at the bottom, and eighteen at the top. On the top of the wall, cannon were mounted, which could be brought to bear in any direction. In the front part of the city, were three half moon batteries, the centre one mounting one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon and three tiers of guns, and the two wings seventy-five pieces each.

From forty to fifty men constituted a team for each cart. These were awkward, clumsy vehicles, the wheels being about ten feet in diameter. The weight of the stone ranged from two to four tons, some of them being sixteen feet in length and two feet square, and were hoisted underneath the axletree by means of a jack-screw.—They were of a soft nature, and a ball would bury itself in them as

readily as in a hewn log, without cracking or materially injuring either the stone or itself.* The distance we drew them was about three quarters of a mile. We generally drew two loads each day. A guard of twelve Turks, armed with muskets, and six drivers provided with whips, accompanied each cart. These whips were cruel instruments. They were about the size of our heavy raw-hides, the tip end being split about eight inches, and three half-hitch knots taken in each strand. The Turkish drivers seemed to take great pleasure in the severe treatment of the "Christian dogs," as they called us; and when they thought we did not draw hard enough, they applied their whips with an unsparing hand.

The road was a complete bed of quick sands in which the wheels would settle at least a foot. We worked bare headed and bare footed; and the climate being very warm, our necks and feet were burnt to a perfect blister. Add to this the soreness of our backs, from the frequent application of the whips, and the famished condition of our bodies, and the reader can form some idea of our sufferings.

CHAP. VII.

View of the Philadelphia—Destruction of her, together with seven or eight hundred Turks, by Lieut. Decatur—Faithfulness of a Greek—Increased Rigor of the Turks toward their Prisoners—Turkish Whips and Yankee Fists.

The first view we had of our ship, was one morning while loading stone on a height of ground overlooking the harbor. We learned that she had been got off a few days after we left her—a rise of water, caused by a heavy gale, having done what the Turks had already despaired of doing. She was then lying within half a mile of the battery, and was manned by a large number of Turks, whose colors floated aloft. That the sight called forth tears and the most poignant reflections, it is hardly necessary to add.

Some two months after this, Lieut. Stephen Decatur asked permission of Commodore Preble to cut out or destroy the Philadelphia. The Commodore doubted the expediency of the undertaking; but finally told Decatur that if he could raise, by volunteers, the number of men required for the hazardous task, he might venture upon it.

Lieut. Decatur soon succeeded in raising the volunteers, for whose use four long boats were provided—each boat carrying sixteen muffled oars and twenty-four men, beside officers. The first favorable night he run in and cut the cables under water, and had towed her a quarter of a mile before the watch discovered that all was not right. They then gave the alarm that she was adrift, it being so dark that they could not discover the boats. They supposed that she had dragged her anchors; but they soon found that they were mistaken, the cables having evidently parted. The boats having

pulled for the shipping when the watch first gave the alarm, and being out of sight of the Turks in the morning, it was a mystery to them how the vessel could have parted her cables, especially as the weather had not been boisterous.

Not satisfied with this attempt, Decatur made another a few days afterward; but being discovered he was again unsuccessful. The Turks had kept a closer watch since the parting of their cables, and having a number of gun-boats anchored around the vessel, Lieut. Decatur was compelled to return to the shipping again; but did not do so without being fired upon. The shots, however, did no damage.

Some time in the early part of February, 1804, about a month after these attempts, Lieut. Decatur proposed the destruction of the Philadelphia, by the application of fire to her. Commodore Preble reluctantly yielded his assent. Obtaining by volunteers sixty daring Yankee boys, the Intrepid, a schooner of about ninety tons burden, that had been taken from the Greeks, was assigned him; and putting on board twelve barrels of spirits of turpentine, spirits of wine, &c. he prepared for a final attack. To secure a favorable issue, a skillful pilot was indispensable. Among the prisoners of war was a Greek, to whom the name of John Marshall had been given, and who had been a pilot in the service of the Turks. Decatur promised Marshall one thousand dollars per year for life, if he would pilot him safely, and continue true to the American cause. This he agreed to. He could talk very good English, and also understood the Turkish language.

Decatur got everything in readiness, and on the 13th day of that month set sail with as resolute and determined a crew as ever met an enemy. About twelve o'clock that night, the Intrepid arrived within four or five miles of the Philadelphia; but as the wind was not favorable to enable them to lay in and out, they proposed to put to sea again, and return the next night. The next night arrived, and with it a favorable wind. The officers and crew were dressed in Turkish style. Thirty of them were appointed as boarders, and the remainder were to hoist the fire-works on board. The casks were in slings and could be hoisted at a moment's warning.

About 12 o'clock the enemy were approached within hailing distance. They hailed, asking the name of the approaching vessel.—The pilot answered in the Turkish language, and named one of the Turkish vessels, of about the same size, then lying in the harbor. He said he had parted his cables, and being afraid he would drift on to the rocks, wished them to pass him a warp and haul him along side until morning. Not mistrusting the truth of the pilot's story, they passed a warp as desired, and the Intrepid was soon along side. The pilot then gave the signal for boarding, and sprang up the gunway, closely followed by Decatur, with his sword in one hand and a pistol in the other, determined to take the pilot's life at all hazards, should he prove treacherous. Neither Decatur nor any of the other

officers or crew, having any knowledge of the Turkish language, their lives depended wholly upon the faithfulness of Marshall. But he betrayed them not, though he might easily have done so.

As soon as he had gained a foot-hill, Marshall knocked down the sentinel standing at the gunway. Decatur springing forward on the fore-castle, also despatched the two sentinels who stood there.— There were but fourteen Turks on deck, and those of them who did not jump overboard were soon killed. The rest were below in their berths, and were prevented from coming on deck, by guards being stationed at the hatchways. The fire-works were then hoisted on deck, the heads of the casks stove in, and the liquid poured down the different hatchways and on the deck. A match was then applied, and in a moment the deck was one sheet of flame. The boarding party immediately jumped into their boat and shoved off; no accident having befallen them. They had not proceeded more than a mile, before the Philadelphia blew up. It is supposed by many, that some of the Turks must have applied fire to the magazine, as the fire from the spirits could not hardly have reached it so soon, the explosion having taken place within fifteen minutes from the time the vessel was fired. The guns were all loaded, and went off from the intensity of the heat, before the explosion. She was lying broadside to the city, and the shot did some execution. One ball struck the Bashaw's palace, considerably damaging it. The number of Turks on board the Philadelphia, was about nine hundred, only about sixty or seventy of whom were saved.

On rising the next morning, the Bashaw was struck with amazement. He knew not how to retaliate, except by putting his prisoners to death; and this, it afterward appeared, he dared not do.

We heard the guns and explosion from our prison, but did not know the cause. We supposed, however, that an attack had been made on the city, and that some vessel had been blown up. The next morning we were let out of our prison as usual to receive our breakfast, dinner and supper at one and the same meal, and could easily perceive by the increased harshness used towards us, that something had gone wrong with the Turks.

About 8 or 9 o'clock the next morning, we were brought out and siezed up to be burnt! Shirts made of coarse hemp cloth, and well saturated with melted brimstone, had been provided for each man.— These shirts were so stiff, that they would readily stand up when placed on the ground. We were kept siezed up until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, expecting every moment that fire would be applied to our combustible garments. But our lives were saved by the Commander. He threatened that if we were killed, he would not spare a life in the city—that all, high and low, old and young, should feel the retributive vengeance of the Americans. We were accordingly released, and conducted back to prison again. During the remainder of the term of our captivity, it was easy to see that we were

treated with much more rigor, if possible, than before the destruction of the Philadelphia. A few days after that event, as I was drawing as hard as usual at the cart, one of the drivers gave me a blow over the shoulder that set quite too snugly for comfort. My frock shirt being wet with sweat, and closely adhering to my back, the blow would hardly have injured me less, had my back been bare. In the rage of the moment, I gave him a blow with my fist under his ear, that brought him upon the sand. He got up, and rubbing his head, muttered some threat that I did not understand. The next night, however, I had a very *striking* translation of the Turk's threat.—After being ironed down, I received one hundred and eighty-two lashes on the bottom of my feet! The next morning, there were bloodblisters on my feet as large as the palm of my hand; and in this condition I was obliged to resume my work in the hot sand, bare-footed! On another occasion, one of my comrades received three hundred lashes for the same offense. So much for Turkish mercy!

CHAP. VIII.

A Formidable Attack upon Tripoli—Severe Fighting—Gallant Behavior of some of the American Officers—Death of James Decatur—Capture of three of the Enemy's Vessels.

To enable the reader to form an idea of the sanguinary nature of some of the engagements between the Americans and the Turks, I shall devote a chapter or two to as full an account of three of the principal of those engagements, as the limits of this work will admit. For a detailed account of these and the other engagements before Tripoli, the reader is referred to the Naval History of Mr. Cooper, to whom I am mainly indebted for the accounts as here given.

In the latter part of July, 1804, feeling the necessity of more vigorous measures than had previously been used, Commodore Preble resolved upon making a formidable attack upon the city. He assembled his whole force on the 25th of that month, and found it to consist of fifteen vessels, of different classes, mounting twenty-eight heavy bong guns, and about twenty lighter ones, all of which might be brought to play upon the batteries of the enemy simultaneously. The squadron was manned by one thousand and sixty persons, all told. The Turks had one hundred and fifteen guns in battery; and nineteen gun-boats, two large galleys, two schooners, and a brig, all of which were well armed and manned—beside a host of smaller boats. Their disposable force has been estimated at twenty-five thousand—in other words, about twenty-five to one against the Americans!

On the 3d of August, the squadron ran in and got within a league

of the town, with a pleasant breeze to the eastward. The enemy's gun-boats and galleys had come outside the rocks, and were lying there in two divisions; one near the eastern, and the other near the western entrance, or about half a mile apart. At the same time it was seen that all the batterics were manned, as if an attack was not only expected, but invited.

At half past 12, the *Constitution* wore with her head off shore, and showed a signal for all vessels to come within hail. As he came up, each commander was ordered to prepare to attack the shipping and batteries. The bomb-vessels and gun-boats were immediately manned, and such was the high state of discipline in the squadron, that in one hour, every thing was ready for the contemplated service.

On this occasion, Commodore Preble made the following distribution of that part of his force, which was manned from the other vessels of his squadron:

One bomb-ketch was commanded by Lieutenant Commandant Dent of the *Scourge*.

The other bomb-ketch was commanded by Mr. Robinson, first lieutenant of the *Constitution*.

First Division of gun-boats—No. 1, Lieut. Com. Somers, of the *Nautilus*; No. 2, Lieut. James Decatur, of the *Nautilus*; No. 3, Lieut. Blake, of the *Argus*.

Second Division of gun-boats.—No. 4, Lieut. Com. Decatur, of the *Enterprise*; No. 5, Lieut. Brainbridge, of the *Enterprise*; No. 6, Lieut. Trippe, of the *Vixen*.

At half-past one, the *Constitution* wore again, and stood toward the town. At two, the gun-boats were cast off, and formed in advance, covered by the brigs and schooners, and half an hour later the signal was shown to engage. The attack was commenced by the two bombards, which began to throw shells into the town. It was followed by the batteries, which were instantly in a blaze, and then the shipping on both sides opened their fire, within reach of grape.

The eastern, or most weatherly division of the enemy's gun-boats, nine in number, as being least supported, was the aim of the American gun-boats. But the bad qualities of the latter craft were quickly apparent, for, as soon as Mr. Decatur started towards the enemy, with an intention to come to close quarters, the division of Mr. Somers, which was a little to the leeward, found it difficult to sustain him. Every effort was made by the latter officer, to get far enough to the windward to join in the attack; but finding it impracticable, he bore up, and ran down alone on five of the enemy to the leeward, and engaged them all, within pistol shot, throwing showers of grape, canister, and musket-balls, among them. In order to do this, as soon as near enough, the sweeps were got out, and the boat was backed astern to prevent her from drifting in among the enemy.—No. 3 was closing fast, but a signal of recall (bent by mistake) being shown from the *Constitution*, she hauled out of the line to obey,

and loosing ground, she kept more aloof, firing at the boats and shipping in the harbor; while No. 2, Mr. James Decatur, was enabled to join the division to the windward. No. 5, Mr. Brainbridge, lost her latine-yard, while still in tow of the Siren, but, though unable to close, she continued advancing, keeping up a heavy fire, and finally touched on the rocks.

By these changes, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur (who was actually a captain at the time, though his promotion was not known in the squadron,) had three boats that dashed forward with him, though one belonged to the division of Mr. Somers, viz. No. 4, No. 6, and No. 2. The officers in command of these three boats, went steadily on until within the smoke of the enemy. Here they delivered their fire, throwing in a terrible discharge of grape and musket balls, and the order was given to board. Up to this moment, the odds had been as three to one against the assailants; and it was now, if possible, increased. The brigs and schooners could no longer assist. The Turkish boats were not only the heaviest and best in every sense, but they were much the strongest manned. The combat now assumed a character of chivalrous prowess and of desperate personal efforts, that belongs to the middle ages, rather than to struggles of our own times. Its details, indeed, savor more of the glow of romance, than of the sober severity we are accustomed to associate with reality.

Lieutenant Commandant Decatur took the lead. He had no sooner discharged his shower of musket balls than No. 4 was laid alongside the opposing boat of the enemy, and he went into her followed by Lieut. Thorn, Mr. McDonough, and all the Americans of his crew. The Tripolitan boat was divided nearly in two parts, by a long open hatchway, and as the people of No. 4 came in on one side, the Turks retreated to the other, making a sort of ditch of the open space. This caused an instant of delay, and, perhaps, fortunately, for it permitted the assailants to act together. As soon as ready, Mr. Decatur charged round each end of the hatchway, and after a short struggle, a portion of the Turks were piked and bayoneted, while the rest submitted, or leaped into the water.

No sooner had Mr. Decatur got possession of the boat first assailed, than he took her in tow, and bore down on the one next to leeward. Running the enemy aboard, as before, he went into him, with most of his officers and men. The captain of the Tripolitan vessel was a large powerful man, and Mr. Decatur personally charged him with a pike. The weapon, however, was siezed by the Turk, wrested from the hands of the assailant, and turned against its owner. The latter parried a thrust, made a blow with his sword at the pike, with a view to cut off its head. The sword hit the iron, and broke at the hilt, and the next instant the Turk made another thrust. Nothing was left to the gallant Decatur, but his arm, with which he so far averted the blow, as to receive the pike through the flesh

of one breast. Pushing the iron from the wound, by tearing the flesh, he sprung within the weapon, and grappled his antagonist.—The pike fell between the two, and a short trial of strength succeeded, in which the Turk prevailed. As the combatants fell, however, Mr. Decatur so far released himself as to lie side by side with his foe on the deck. The Tripolitan now endeavored to reach his point, while his hand was firmly held by that of his enemy. At this critical instant, when life or death depended on a moment well employed, or a moment lost, Mr. Decatur drew a small pistol from his vest, passed the arm that was free around the body of the Turk, pointed the muzzle in and fired. The ball passed entirely through the body of the Mussulman, and lodged in the clothes of the foe.—At the same instant, Mr. Decatur felt the grasp that had almost smothered him relax, and he was liberated. He sprang up, and the Tripolitan lay dead at his feet.

In such a *melee* it cannot be supposed that the struggle of the two leaders would go unnoticed. An enemy raised his sabre to cleave the skull of Mr. Decatur, while he was occupied by the enemy, and a young man of the Enterprise's crew interposed an arm to save him. The blow was intercepted, but the limb was severed to a bit of skin. A fresh rush was now made upon the enemy, who was overcome without much further resistance.

An idea of the desperate nature of the fighting that distinguished this remarkable assault, may be gained from the amount of the loss. The two boats captured by Lieutenant Commandant Decatur, had about eighty men in them, of whom fifty-two are known to have been killed and wounded; most of the latter very badly. As only eight prisoners were made who were not wounded, and many jumped overboard and swam to the rocks, it is not improbable that the Turks suffered still more severely. Lieutenant Commandant Decatur himself being wounded, he secured his second prize, and hauled off to rejoin the squadron; all the rest of the enemy's division that were not taken, having by this time run into the harbor, by passing through the openings between the rocks.

While Lieutenant Commandant Decatur was thus employed to windward, his brother, Mr. James Decatur, the first lieutenant of the Nautilus, was nobly emulating his example in No. 2. Reserving his fire, like No. 4, this young officer dashed into the smoke, and was on the point of boarding, when he received a musket ball in his forehead. The boats met and rebounded; and in the confusion of the death of the commanding officer of No. 2, the Turks were enabled to escape under a heavy fire from the American. It was said, at the time, that the enemy had struck before Mr. Decatur fell, though the fact must remain in doubt. It is, however, believed that he sustained a very severe loss.

In the mean time, Mr. Trippe, in No. 6, the last of the three boats that was able to reach the weather division, was not idle.—

Reserving his fire, like the others, he delivered it with deadly effect when closing, and went on board of his enemy in the smoke. In this instance, the boats also separated by the shock of the collision, leaving Mr. Trippe, with Mr. J. D. Henley, and nine men only, on board of the Tripolitan. Here, too, the commanders singled each other out, and a severe personal combat occurred, while the work of death was going on around them. The Turk was young, and of a large athletic form, and he soon compelled his slighter, but more active foe to fight with caution. Advancing on Mr. Trippe, he would strike a blow and receive a thrust in return. In this manner, he gave the American commander no less than eight sabre wounds in the head, and two in the breast; when making a sudden rush he struck a ninth blow on the head, which brought Mr. Trippe upon a knee. Rallying all his force in a desperate effort, the latter, who still retained the short pike with which he fought, made a thrust that passed the weapon through his gigantic adversary, and tumbled him on his back. As soon as the Tripolitan officer fell, the remainder of his people submitted. The boat taken by Mr. Trippe, was one of the largest belonging to the Bashaw. The number of her men is not positively known, but, living and dead, thirty-six were found in her, of whom twenty-one were either killed or wounded.—When it is remembered but eleven Americans boarded her, the achievement must pass for one of the most gallant on record.

All this time the cannonade and bombardment continued without ceasing. Lieutenant Commandant Somers, in No. 1, sustained by the brigs and schooners, had forced the remaining boats to retreat, and this resolute officer pressed them so hard as to be compelled to ware within a short distance of a battery of twelve guns, quite near the mole. Her destruction seemed inevitable, as the boat came slowly round, when a shell fell into the battery, most opportunely blew up the platform, and drove the enemy out to a man. Before the guns could be again used, the boat had got in tow of one of the small vessels.

There was a division of five boats and two galleys of the enemy, that had been held in reserve within the rocks, and these rallied their retreating countrymen, and made two efforts to come out and intercept the Americans and their prizes, but they were kept in check by the fire of the frigate and small vessels. The Constitution maintained a heavy fire, silenced several batteries, though they re-opened as soon as she had passed. The bombards were covered with the spray of shot, but continued to throw shells to the last.

At half past four, the wind coming round to the northward, signal was made for the gun-boats and bomb ketches to rejoin the small vessels, and another to take them and their prizes in tow. The last order was handsomely executed by the brigs and schooners, under cover of a blaze of fire from the frigate. A quarter of an hour later, the Constitution herself hauled off and ran out of gun-shot.

Thus terminated the first serious attack that was made on the town and batteries of Tripoli. Its effect upon the enemy was of the most salutary kind; the manner in which their gun-boats had been taken, by boarding, having made a lasting and deep impression.—The superiority of the Christians in gunnery, was generally admitted before; but here was an instance in which the Turks had been overcome by inferior numbers, hand to hand, a species of conflict in which they had been thought particularly to excel. Perhaps no instance of more desperate fighting of the sort, without defensive armour, is to be found in the pages of history. Three gun-boats were sunk in the harbor, in addition to the three that were taken, and the loss of the Tripolitans by shot, must have been very heavy.—About fifty shells were thrown into the town, but little damage appears to have been done in this way, very few of the bombs, on account of the imperfect materials that had been furnished, exploding. The batteries were a good deal damaged, but the town suffered no material injury.

On the part of the Americans, only fourteen were killed and wounded in the affair; and all of these, with the exception of one man, belonged to the gun-boats. The Constitution, though under fire two hours, escaped much better than could have been expected. She received one heavy shot through her main-mast, had a quarter-deck gun injured, and was a good deal cut up aloft. The enemy had calculated his range for a more distant cannonade, and generally overshot the ships. By this mistake the Constitution had her main royal yard shot away.

On the occasion of the battle of the 3d of August, the officers who had opportunities of particularly distinguishing themselves, were Lieutenants Commandant Decatur, and Somers; Lieutenants Trippe, Decatur, Brainbridge, and Thorn, and Messrs. M'Donough, Henley, Ridgley, and Miller. But the whole squadron behaved well.

CHAP. IX.

Another Attack upon Tripoli—Mode of Defense changed by the Enemy—Execution of the guns of the Constitution.

On the 28th of August, Commodore Preble determined upon making another assault upon the town and batteries, and made preparations accordingly. The gun-boats and bombards requiring so many men to manage them, the Constitution and the small vessels had been compelled to go into action short of hands, in the previous affairs. To obviate this difficulty, the John Adams had been kept before the town, and a portion of her officers and crew, and nearly all her boats were put in requisition, on the present occasion. Capt.

Chauncy himself, with about seventy of his people, went on board the flag ship, and all the boats of the squadron were hoisted out and manned. The bombards were crippled and could not be brought into service, a circumstance that was probably of no great consequence, on account of the badness of the materials they were compelled to use. These two vessels, with the *Séourge*, transports, and *John Adams*, were anchored well off at sea, as not being available in the contemplated cannonading.

Everything being prepared, a little after midnight the following gun-boats proceeded to their stations, viz: No. 1, Capt. Somers; No. 2, Lieut. Gordon; No. 3, Mr. Brooks, master of the *Argus*; No. 4, Capt. Decatur; No. 5, Lieut. Lawrence; No. 6, Lieut. Wadsworth; No. 7, Lieut. Crane; and No. 9, Lieut. Thorn.—They were divided into two divisions, as before, Capt. Decatur having become the superior officer, however, by his recent promotion. About 3 A. M., the gun-boats advanced close to the rocks at the entrance of the harbor, covered by the *Siren*, Capt. Stewart, *Argus*, Capt. Hull, *Vixen*, Capt. Smith, *Nautilus*, Lieut. Reed, and *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Com. Robinson, and accompanied by all the boats of the squadron. Here they anchored, with springs on their cables, and commenced a heavy fire on the enemy's shipping, castle and town. As soon as the day dawned, the *Constitution* weighed and stood in towards the rocks, under a heavy fire from the batteries, Fort English, and the castle. At this time, the enemy's gun-boats and galleys, thirteen in number, were closely and warmly engaged with the eight American boats; and the *Constitution*, ordering the latter to retire by signal, as their ammunition was mostly consumed, delivered a heavy fire of round and grape on the former as she came up. One of the enemy's boats was soon sunk, two were run ashore to prevent them from sinking, and the rest retreated.

The *Constitution* now continued to stand on, until she had run in within musket shot of the mole, when she brought to, and opened upon the town, batteries and castle. Here she lay three quarters of an hour, pouring in a fierce fire with great effect, until finding that all the small vessels were out of gun-shot, she hauled off. About 700 heavy shot were hove at the enemy in this attack, beside a good many from the chase-guns of the small vessels. The enemy sustained much damage and lost many men. The American brigs and schooners were a good deal injured aloft, as was the *Constitution*. Although the latter ship was so long within reach of grape, many of which struck her, she had not a man hurt! Several of her shrouds, back-stays, trussess, spring-stays, chains, lifts, and a great deal of running rigging were shot away, and yet her hull escaped with very trifling injuries. A boat belonging to the *John Adams*, under the orders of Mr. John Orde Creighton, one of that ship's master's mates, was sunk by a double-headed shot, which killed three men, and badly wounded a fourth, but the officers and the rest of the boat's crew were saved.

In this attack a heavy shot from the American gun-boats struck the castle, passed through a wall, and rebounding from the opposite side of the room, fell within six inches of Com. Brainbridge, who was in bed at the moment, and covered him with stones and mortar, from under which he was taken, considerably hurt, by his own officers. More injury was done the town in this attack, than in either of the others, the shot appearing to have told on many of the houses.

From this time to the close of the month, preparations were making to use the bombards again, and for renewing the cannonading, another transport having arrived from Malta, without bringing any intelligence of the vessels under the orders of Com. Baron. On the 3d of September, everything being ready, at half past two the signal was made for the small vessels to advance. The enemy had improved the time as well as the Americans, and they had raised three of their own gun-boats that had been sunk in the affairs of the 3d and of the 28th of August. These craft were now added to the rest of their flotilla.

The Tripolitans had also changed their mode of fighting. Hitherto, with the exception of the affair of the 3d, their galleys or gun-boats had lain either behind the rocks in positions to fire over them, or at the openings between them, and they consequently found themselves to leeward of the frigate and small American cruisers, the latter invariably choosing easterly winds to advance with, as they would permit crippled vessels to retire. On the 3d of August, the case excepted, the Turks had been so roughly treated by being brought hand to hand, when they evidently expected nothing more than a cannonade, that they were not disposed to venture again outside of the harbor. On the 3d of September, however, the day at which we have now arrived, their plan of defense was judiciously altered. No sooner was it perceived that the American squadron was in motion, with a fresh design to annoy them, than their gun-boats and galleys got under way, and worked up to windward, until they had gained a station on the weather side of the harbor, directly under fire of Fort English, as well as of a new battery that had been erected a little to the westward of the latter.

This disposition of the enemy's force, required a corresponding change on the part of the Americans. The bombards were directed to take stations, and to commence throwing their shells, while the gun-boats, in two divisions, commanded as usual, by Capts. Decatur and Somers, and covered by the brigs and schooners, assailed the enemy's flotilla. This arrangement separated the battle into two distinct parts; leaving the bomb-vessels very much exposed to the fire of the castle, the mole, crown, and other batteries.

The Tripolitan gun-boats and galleys, stood the fire of the American flotilla, until the latter had got within reach of the musketry, when they retreated. The assailants now separated, some of the gun-boats following the enemy, and pouring in their galling fire, while

others, with the brigs and schooners, cannonaded Fort English.

In the meanwhile, perceiving that the bombards were suffering severely from the undisturbed fire to which they were exposed, Commodore Preble ran down in the *Constitution*, quite near the rocks, and within the bomb-vessels, and brought-to. Here the frigate opened as warm a fire as probably ever came out of the broad-side of a single-decked ship, and in a position where seventy heavy guns could bear upon her. The whole harbor in the vicinity of the town was glittering with the spray of her shot, and each battery, as usual, was silenced as soon as it drew her attention. After throwing more than three hundred round shot, beside grape and canister, the frigate hauled off, having previously ordered the other vessels to retire from action, by signal.

The gun-boats, in this affair, were an hour and fifteen minutes in action, in which they threw four hundred round shot, beside grape and canister. Lieut. Trippe, who had so much distinguished himself, and who had received so many wounds that day month, resumed the command of No. 6, for this occasion. Lieutenant Morris, of the *Argus*, was in charge of No. 3. All the small vessels, as usual, suffered aloft, and the *Argus* sustained some damage in her hull.

The *Constitution* was so much exposed in the attack just related, that the escape can only be attributed to the weight of her own fire. It had been found, in the previous affairs, that so long as this ship could play upon a battery, the Turks could not be kept at their guns; and it was chiefly while she was veering or tacking that she suffered. But, after making every allowance for the effect of her own cannonade, and for the imperfect gunnery of the enemy, it creates wonder that a single frigate could be opposed to more than double her own number of available guns, and these, too, principally, of heavier metal, while they were protected by stone walls. On this occasion, the frigate was not supported by the gun-boats at all, and she became the sole object of the enemy's aim, after the bombards had withdrawn.

As might have been expected, the *Constitution* suffered more in the attack just recorded, than in any of the previous affairs, though she received nothing larger than grape in her hull. She had three shells through her canvass, one of which rendered the main-top-sail momentarily useless. Her sails, standing and running-rigging, were also much cut with shot. Capt. Chauncy, of the *John Adams*, and a party of his officers and crew, served in the *Constitution* again, on this day, and were of essential use. Indeed, in all the service which succeeded her arrival, the commander, officers, and crew, of the *John Adams* were actively employed, though the ship herself could not be brought before the enemy, for the want of gun carriages.

The bombards having been much exposed, suffered accordingly. No. 1, was so much crippled, as to be unable to move, without be-

ing towed, and was near sinking when she was got to the anchorage. Every shroud she had was shot away. Commodore Preble expressed himself satisfied with the good conduct of every man in the squadron. All the vessels appear to have been well conducted, and efficient in their several stations. Of the effect of the shells, there is no account to be relied on, though it is probable, that as usual, many did not explode. There is no doubt, however, that the bombs were well directed, and that they fell into the town.

While Com. Preble was thus actively employed in carrying on the war against the enemy, the attack just related, having been the fifth made on the town within a month, he was meditating another species of annoyance, that about this time was nearly ready to be put in execution.

CHAP. X.

The Ketch Intrepid—Preparations for her Attack upon the Enemy's Shipping—Her Explosion—Probable Causes of the Disaster.

The account of the attempt of Lieutenant Somers and his gallant crew, to send the Intrepid into the harbor of Tripoli, to explode among the enemy's cruisers, cannot fail to prove of thrilling, though painful interest to every reader. Full particulars are here subjoined:

The ketch Intrepid, which had been employed by Mr. Decatur in burning the Philadelphia, was still in the squadron, having been used of late as a transport between Tripoli and Malta. This vessel had been converted into an "infernal," or, to use more intelligible terms, she had been fitted as a floating mine, with the intention of sending her into the harbor of Tripoli, to explode among the enemy's cruisers. As every thing connected with the history of this little vessel, as well as with the enterprise in which she was about to be employed, will have interest with the public, we shall be more particular than common in giving the details of this affair, as they have reached us through public documents, and oral testimony that is deemed worthy of entire credit.

A small room or magazine had been planked up in the hold of the ketch, just forward of her principal mast. Communicating with this magazine was a trunk or tube, that led aft to another room, filled with combustibles. In the planked room or magazine, were placed one hundred barrels of gun-powder in bulk, and on the deck immediately above the powder, were laid fifty thirteen and a half inch shells, and one hundred nine inch shells, with a large quantity of shot, pieces of kentledge, and fragments of iron of different sorts. A train was laid in the trunk or tube, and fuses were attached in the proper manner. In addition to this arrangement, the other

small room mentioned was filled with splinters and light wood, which, beside firing the train, were to keep the enemy from boarding, as the flames would be apt to induce them to apprehend an immediate explosion.

The plan was well laid. It was the intention to profit by the first dark night that offered, to carry the ketch as far as possible into the galley-mole, to light the fire in the splinter-room, and for the men employed to make their retreat in boats.

The arrangements for carrying this project into effect appear to have been made with care and prudence. Still the duty, on every account, was deemed desperate. It was necessary, in the first place, to stand in by the western or little passage, in a dull-sailing vessel, and with a light wind, directly in the face of several batteries, the fire of which could only be escaped by the enemy's mistaking the ketch for a vessel endeavoring to force the blockade. It would also be required to pass quite near these batteries, and, as the ketch advanced, she would be running in among the gun-boats and galleys of the enemy. It is not necessary to point out the hazards of such an exploit, as a simple cannonade directed against a small vessel filled with powder, would of itself be, in the last degree, dangerous. After every thing had succeeded to the perfect hopes of the assailants, there existed every necessity of effecting a retreat, the service being one in which no quarter could be expected.

Such a duty could be confided to none but officers and men of known coolness and courage, of perfect self-possession, and tried spirit. Captain Somers, who had commanded one division of the gun-boats in the different attacks on the town that have been related, in a manner to excite the respect of all who had witnessed his conduct, volunteered to take charge of this enterprise; and Lieut. Wadsworth, of the Constitution, and an officer of great merit, offered himself as the second in command. It being unnecessary to send in any more than these two gentlemen, with a few men needed to manage the ketch and row the boats, no other officer was permitted to go, though it is understood that several volunteered.

The night of the 4th of September, or that of the day which succeeded the attack last related, promising to be obscure, and there being a good leading wind from the eastward, it was selected for the purpose. Commodore Preble appears to have viewed the result of this expedition with great anxiety, and to have ordered all its preparations, with the utmost personal attention to the details. This feeling is believed to have been increased by his knowledge of the character of the officers who were to go in, and who, it was understood, had expressed a determination, neither to be taken, nor to permit the ammunition in the ketch to fall into the enemy's hands. The latter point was one of great importance, it being understood that the Tripolitans, like the Americans, were getting to be in want of powder. In short, it was the general understanding in the squad-

ron, before the ketch proceeded, that her officers had determined not to be taken. Two fast-rowing boats, one belonging to the Constitution, that pulled six oars, and one belonging to the Siren, that pulled four oars, were chosen to bring the party off, and their crews were volunteers from the Constitution and Nautilus. At the last moment, Mr. Israel, an ardent young officer, whose application to go in had been rejected, found means to get on board the ketch, and in consideration of his gallantry, he was permitted to join the party.

When all was ready, or about 8 o'clock in the evening of the day just mentioned, the Intrepid was under way, with the Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus in company. Shortly after, the Siren also weighed, by a special order from the commodore, and stood in towards the western passage, or that by which the ketch was to enter, where she remained to look out for the boats.

The Nautilus, Capt. Somers' own vessel, accompanied the ketch close in, but on reaching a position where there was danger of her creating suspicions, by being seen, she hauled off, to take her station, like the other small vessels, near the rocks, in order to pick up the retreating boats. The last person of the squadron who had any communication with Capt. Somers, was Mr. Washington Reed, the first Lieutenant of his own schooner, the Nautilus, who left him about 9 o'clock. At that time, all was calm, collected, and in order, on board the "infernal." The general uneasiness was increased by the circumstance that three gun-boats lay near the entrance; and some of the last words of the experienced Decatur, before taking leave of his friend, were to caution him against these enemies.

The sea was covered with a dense haze, though the stars were visible, and the last that may be said to have been seen of the Intrepid, was the shadowy forms of her canvass, as she steered slowly, but steadily, into the obscurity, where the eyes of the many anxious spectators fancied they could still trace her dim outline, most probably after it had totally disappeared. This sinking into the gloom of night, was no bad image of the impenetrable mystery that has veiled the subsequent proceedings of the gallant party that was on board of her.

When the Intrepid was last seen by the naked eye, she was not a musket-shot from the mole, standing directly for the harbor. One officer on board the nearest vessel, the Nautilus, is said, however, to have never lost sight of her with the night-glass: but even he could distinguish no more than her dim proportions. There is a vague rumor that she touched on the rocks, though it does not appear to rest on sufficient authority to be entitled to much credit.—To the last moment she appears to have been advancing. About this time the batteries began to fire. Their shot are said to have been directed towards every point where an enemy might be expected, and it is not improbable some were aimed at the ketch.

The period between the time when the *Intrepid* was last seen, and that when most of those who watched without the rocks, learned her fate, was not long. - This was an interval of intense, almost breathless expectation; and it was interrupted only by the flashes and the roar of the enemy's guns. Various reports exist of what those who gazed into the gloom beheld, or fancied they beheld; but one melancholly fact alone would seem to be beyond contradiction. A fierce and sudden light illuminated the panorama, a torrent of fire streamed upward, and a concussion followed that made the cruisers in the offing tremble from their trucks to their keels. This sudden blaze of light was followed by a darkness of two-fold intensity, and the guns of the battery became mute, as if annihilated. Numerous shells were seen in the air, and some of them descended on the rocks, where they were heard to fall. The fuses were burning, and a few exploded, but much the greater part were extinguished in the water. The mast, too, had risen perpendicularly, with its rigging and canvass blazing, but the descent veiled all in night.

So sudden and tremendous was the eruption, and so intense the darkness which succeeded, that it was not possible to ascertain the precise position of the ketch at the moment. In the glaring but fleeting light, no person could say that he had noted more than the material circumstance, that the *Intrepid* had not reached the point at which she aimed. The shells had not spread far, and those which fell on the rocks were so many proofs of this important truth.— There was no other fact to indicate the precise spot where the ketch exploded. A few cries arose from the town, but the subsequent and deep silence that followed was more eloquent than any clamor. The whole of Tripoli was like a city of tombs.

If every eye had been watchful previous to the explosion, every eye now became doubly vigilant to discover the retreating boats.— Men got over the sides of the vessels, holding lights, and placing their ears near the water, in the hopes of detecting the sounds of even muffled oars; and often was it fancied that the gallant adventurers were near. They never re-appeared. Hour after hour went by, until hope itself became exhausted. Occasionally a rocket gleamed in the darkness, or a sullen gun was heard from the frigate as signals to the boats; but the eyes that should have seen the first, were sightless, and the last tolled on the ears of the dead.

The three vessels assigned to that service hovered around the harbor until the sun rose; but few traces of the *Intrepid*, and nothing of her devoted crew, could be discovered. The wreck of the mast lay on the rocks near the western entrance, and here and there a fragment was visible nigh it. One of the largest of the enemy's gun-boats was missing, and it was observed that two others, which appeared to be shattered, were being hauled upon the shore. The three that had lain across the entrance had disappeared. It was erroneously thought that the castle had sustained some injury from the concuss-

ion, though, on the whole, the Americans were left with the melancholy certainty of having met with serious loss, without obtaining a commensurate advantage.

It is known that the bottom of the ketch grounded on the north side of the rock, near the round battery at the end of the mole;—and as the wind was at the eastward, this renders it certain that the explosion took place in the western entrance to the harbor, and fully a quarter of a mile from the spot that it was intended the ketch should reach. In the wreck were found two mangled bodies, and four more were picked up on the 6th, floating in the harbor, or lodged on the shore. These bodies were in the most shocking state of mutilation, and though Commodore Brainbridge, and one or two of his companions were taken to see them, it was found impossible to distinguish even the officers from the men. It is understood that six more bodies were found, the day after the explosion, on the shore to the southward of the town, and that a six oared boat, with one body in it, had drifted on the beach to the westward.

These statements account for all those who went in the ketch, and furnish conjectural clues to facts that would otherwise be veiled in impenetrable mystery. The spot where the boat was found, was a proof that the ketch had not got very far into the passage, or the cutter would not have drifted clear of the natural mole to the westward. The reason that the boat and the ketch's bottom were not found near the same spot, was probably because the first was acted on more by the wind, and the last by the current; and the fact that a boat may have drifted through rocks, with which the shore is every where more or less lined, that would have brought up the wreck.

As there was but one body found in the boat, we are left to suppose it was that of the keeper. Of the four oared boat, or that which belonged to the Siren, there does not appear to have been any tidings, and it was either destroyed by the explosion, sunk by the fall of fragments, or privately appropriated to himself by some Tripolitan.

From the fact of there being but a single man in the Constitution's cutter, there is reason to infer that most of the officers and men were on board the ketch, herself, when she blew up. No person is understood to say that any of the enemy's vessels were seen near the ketch, when she exploded, and, with these meager premises, we are left to draw our inferences as to the causes of the disaster.

That Capt. Somers was as capable of sacrificing himself, when there was an occasion for it, as any man who ever lived, is probably as true, as it is certain that he would not destroy himself, and much less others, without sufficient reason. It has been supposed that the ketch was boarded by the enemy, and that her resolute commander fired the train in preference to being taken. The spirit created by the chivalrous exploits of Decatur, and the high-toned discipline

and daring of Preble, had communicated to all under their orders, as lofty sentiments of duty and zeal, as probably were ever found among an equal body of generous and ardent young men; but it is not easy to discover a motive why the explosion should have been an intentional act of the Americans, and it is easy to discover many why it should not.

There would be but one sufficient justification for an officer's sacrificing himself or his people, under such circumstances; and that was the impossibility of preventing the ketch from falling into the hands of the enemy, by any other means. Neither the evidence of eye-witnesses, so far as it is available, nor the accounts of the Tripolitans themselves, would appear to show, that when the Intrepid exploded, any enemy was near enough to render so desperate a step necessary. According to the private journal of Com. Brainbridge, neither the town nor the Turks suffered materially, and he was carried to the beach to see the dead bodies on the 8th, or two days after the affair. This alone would prove that the ketch did not reach the mole. If the object were merely to destroy the powder, the men would have been previously ordered into the boats, and, even under circumstances that rendered a resort to the fuse inexpedient, the train would have been used. That only one man was in the largest boat, is known from the condition in which she was found, and this could hardly have happened, under any circumstances, had the magazine been fired intentionally, by means of the train. Every contingency, had, doubtless, been foreseen. One man was as able as twenty to apply the match, and we can see but one state of things, beside being boarded by surprise, that would render it likely that the match would have been used until the people were in their boats, or that it would have been applied at any other spot, than at the end of the train, or aft. A surprise, of the nature mentioned, would seem to have been impossible; for though the night was misty, objects might still be seen at some little distance, and it is probable, also, that the party had glasses.

Many little collateral circumstances appear to have occurred which may be thought to give force to the truth of the common impression. One of the best authenticated of these, is connected with what was seen from a vessel that was watching the ketch, though it was not the schooner nearest in. On board of this vessel a light was observed moving on a horizontal line, as if carried swiftly along a vessel's deck by some one in hurried motion, and then to drop suddenly, like a lantern sinking beneath a hatchway. Immediately afterward the ketch exploded, and at that precise spot, which would seem to leave no doubt that this light was on board the Intrepid.

In addition to this appearance of the light, which rests on testimony every way entitled to respect, there was a report brought off by the prisoners, then in Tripoli, when liberated, from which another

er supposition has been formed as to the fate of this devoted vessel, that is not without some plausibility. It was said that most of the bodies found had received gun-shot wounds, especially from grape. One body, in particular, was described as having had the small remains of nankeen pantaloons on it, and it was also reported that the hair was of a deep black. Through this person, according to the report, no less than three grape-shot had passed. This has been supposed to have been the body of Capt. Somers himself, who was the only one of the party that wore nankeens, and whose hair was of a deep black. On the supposition that the proof of the grape shot wounds actually existed, it has been conjectured, that, as the ketch advanced, she was fired into with grape, most of her people shot down, and that the magazine was touched off by the two whose bodies were found in the wreck, and who were probably below when the *Intrepid* exploded.

A sad and solem mystery, after all our conjectures, must forever veil the fate of those fearless officers and their hardy followers. In whatever light we view the affair, they were the victims of that self devotion which causes the seaman and soldier to hold his life in his hand, when the honor or interest of his country demand the sacrifice. The name of Somers has passed into a battle-cry, in the American marine, while those of Wadsworth and Israel are associated with all that can ennoble intrepidity, coolness, and daring.

CHAP. XI.

Sailing of Gen. Eaton to Alexandria—Co-operation of Hamet Caramalli, in the Attack upon Derne—Success of the attack—The American Colors, for the first time, floating from a Fortress in the Old World—Close of the Tripolitan War.

It is well known to the readers of naval history, that Commodore Barron succeeded Commodore Preble in the fall of 1804. Before his arrival, Mr. Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, had well nigh matured a project for securing the aid of Hamet Caramalli, the rightful Bashaw of Tripoli, in prosecuting the war against his brother, Jessuf Caramalli, who had usurped the throne to which Hamet was justly entitled—the latter, after being thus deposed, having escaped from the regency, and taken refuge among the Mamelukes of Egypt.

Two or three days after Commodore Barron had assumed the command before Tripoli, he sent the *Argus*, Capt. Hull, to Alexandria, with Mr. Eaton, where he arrived on the 26th of November. On the 29th, Mr. Eaton, accompanied by Lieut. O'Bannon, of the marines, and Messrs. Mann and Danielson, two midshipmen of the squadron, proceeded to Rosetta, and thence to Cairo. The Viceroy of Egypt received them with favor, and permission was obtained for the Prince of Tripoli to pass out of the country unmolested, though

he had been fighting against the government, with the discontented Mamelukes.

As soon as Hamet Caramalii received the proposals of Mr. Eaton, he separated himself from the Mamelukes, attended by about forty followers, and repaired to a point twelve leagues to the westward of the old port of Alexandria. Here he was soon joined by Mr. Eaton, at the head of a small troop of adventurers, whom he had obtained in Egypt. This party was composed of all nations, though Mr. Eaton expressed his belief at the time, that had he possessed the means of subsistence, he might have marched a body of thirty thousand men against Tripoli, the reigning Bashaw having forced so many of his men into banishment. Soon after the junction agreed upon, Mr. Eaton, who now assumed the title of general, marched in the direction of Derne, taking the route across the desert of Barca. This was early in 1805.

The *Argus* had returned to Malta, for orders and stores, and on the 2d of April, she re-appeared off Bomba, with the *Hornet* 10, Lieutenant Commandant Evans, in company. Cruising on this coast a few days, without obtaining any intelligence of Gen. Eaton and the Bashaw, Capt. Hull steered to the westward, and, a few leagues to the eastward of Derne, he fell in with the *Nautilus*, Lieutenant Commandant Dent. On communicating with this vessel, which was lying close in with the shore, Capt. Hull ascertained that the expedition was on the coast, and that it waited only for arms and supplies that had been brought, to attack Derne, from which town it was but a league distant. A field-piece was landed, together with some stores and muskets, and a few marines appear to have been put under the orders of Mr. O'Bannon, of the corps, when the vessels took their station to aid in the attack.

It was 2 P. M., on the 27th of April, 1805, that this assault, so novel for Americans to be engaged in, in the other hemisphere, was commenced. The *Hornet*, Lieutenant Commandant Evans, having run close in, and anchored with springs on her cables, within pistol shot of a battery of eight guns, opened her fire. The *Nautilus* lay a little distance to the eastward, and the *Argus* still further in the same direction, the two latter firing on the town and battery. In about an hour, the enemy were driven from the work, when all the vessels directed their guns at the beach, to clear the way for the advance of the party on shore. The enemy made an irregular but spirited defense, keeping up a heavy fire of musketry, as the assailants advanced, from behind houses and walls. At half past 3, however, Lieutenant O'Bannon and Mr. Mann stormed the principal work, hauling down the Tripolitan ensign, and for the first time in the history of the country, hoisting that of the republic on a fortress of the old world. The enemy were driven out of this work with so much precipitation, that they left its guns loaded, and even primed. The cannon were immediately turned upon the town, and

Hamet Caramalii having made a lodgement on the other side, so as to bring the enemy between two fires, the place submitted. At 4 o'clock, the boats of the vessels landed, with ammunition for the guns and to bring off the wounded; Derne being in complete possession of the assailants.

In this affair, only fourteen of the assailants were killed and wounded, Gen. Eaton being among the latter. The attack was made by about 1200 men, where the place was supposed to be defended by three or four thousand. One or two attempts were made by the Tripolitans, to regain possession, but they were easily repulsed, and on one occasion, with some loss. The deposed Bashaw remained in possession of the town, and his authority was partially recognized in the province. Gen. Eaton now earnestly pressed Commodore Barron for further supplies and reinforcements, with a view to march on Tripoli; but they were denied, on the ground that Hamet Caramalii was in possession of the second province of the regency, and if he had the influence he pretended to possess, he ought to be able to effect his object by means of the ordinary co-operation of the squadron. Negotiations for peace now commenced in earnest, Mr. Lear having arrived off Tripoli, for that purpose, in the *Essex*, Captain Barron. After the usual intrigues, delays, and prevarications, a treaty was signed on the 3d of June, 1805. By this treaty, no tribute was to be paid in future, but \$60,000 were given by America, for the remaining prisoners, after exchanging the Tripolitans in her power, man for man.

Thus terminated the war with Tripoli, after an existence of four years. It is probable that the United States would have retained in service some officers, and would have kept up a small force, had not this contest occurred; but its influence on the fortunes and character of the navy is incalculable. It saved the first, in a degree at least, and it may be said to have formed the last.

CHAP. XII.

Release of the American Prisoners by the Turks—Their reception at Home—Visiting Friends—Preparations for another Voyage to the Mediterranean.

Immediately after the signing of the treaty of peace, the American prisoners were set at liberty, after having endured the most severe hardships for a little more than nineteen months.

Sailing from Tripoli, we arrived at Syracuse in a few days, where we remained two or three weeks. We touched at Gibraltar, we also remained two or three weeks; sailed for America, after which we making the passage to the city of Washington in fifty-seven days. Our arrival was welcomed by thousands of spectators; and as our feet touched the American soil, our shouts were as hearty as any that rose from that vast and happy throng. Our long beards and

Turkish dress, which we had not changed since our liberation, attracted no small degree of attention.

On the fifth day after our arrival, we all marched up to the White House, under command of Gen. Eaton, and took dinner with the President, Thos. Jefferson. There were four hundred and forty eight of us—our number, when captured, having been four hundred and fifty-two, and two having died, and two joined the Turks. We were escorted by about six hundred marines and several uniform companies. The number of spectators on this occasion, was computed at twenty-five thousand. That we were kindly received by the President, need not be added. A number of barbers had been employed by that gentleman to cut our hair and beards, this duty of our toilet having now been neglected for about twenty-three months. Each man was then provided, at the expense of the government, with a new suit of clothes, valued at sixty dollars, and each officer with a suit of uniform. We were paid off the same day, each man being allowed for the time he was a prisoner, and seven dollars per month for rations—after which, we were formally discharged from the service.

The next day I started for New York, wishing to visit my family as soon as possible, from whom I had not heard during my absence. Without hardly a moment's stop at New York, I proceeded to Westchester county, and found my wife in good health. During my absence she had remained with the family in which I married her.—Our meeting was unexpected on her part, she having heard of our capture by the Turks, though not of our release, and supposing that we all had either died of our hardships, or been massacred by our captors.

A short time after this, I purchased a house and lot, about four miles from the family of my wife's friends, and eighteen miles from New York. I paid seven hundred dollars for it, once more determining to quit the sea. After remaining at home until the following spring, I obtained a situation at my old trade, in the Navy Yard, at New York—usually visiting my family at the close of each week. I left the Navy Yard in December, for the purpose of spending the winter under my own roof.

Early the next month, (January 1807,) the entering of seamen commenced at New York, for the frigate Chesapeake, and the sloop of war Wasp, both of which vessels had been ordered to the Mediterranean, to relieve the Constitution and Hornet, which had been left there to keep a look-out, on the ratification of peace with Tripoli. Being in New York one day, I fell in company with some of the officers of the Wasp, with whom I was acquainted, and was urged by them to accept the berth of carpenter on that vessel. Before leaving the city, and, of course, before my intentions were known to my wife, I entered for two years. The Wasp was to take despatches to England, after which she was to join the Chesapeake

at Gibraltar, whence both vessels were to proceed to the Mediterranean. The first officers of the *Wasp* were John Smith, commander, and Messrs. McDonough, Downs, Page, and Henry, first, second, third and fourth lieutenants.

I did not inform my wife that I had entered the Navy again, until a short time before I was to join the vessel, which was the first of April. I commenced furnishing her with provisions and fire-wood for a year; and these are what first excited her suspicions. She wished to know my object, and I was obliged to tell her what I had done. She was opposed to my going to sea again; but by telling her that we were at peace with all nations, and that there was neither any prospect of fighting, nor danger of being taken by the Turks again, she very reluctantly yielded her assent.

At that time we had a son about four months old. In order that my wife might not be left entirely without company or aid, I employed a girl about ten years of age, to remain with her until my return.

About the 10th of April, we were ordered to join our vessel at Washington, where she was built. She had never been to sea, and this was to be her first voyage. Leaving with my wife about three hundred dollars and a half-pay ticket, as before, I proceeded to Washington, according to orders.

CHAP. XIII.

Sailing for the Mediterranean—Capture of the Chesapeake by the British Frigate Leopard—Arrival in the Mediterranean—Homeward Bound—A Gale—Narrow Escapes—Arrival at Boston—Cruise off the American Coast until the year 1811.

On the 21st of April, the *Wasp* dropped down the river to Norfolk, Virginia, and after taking in her sea stores, weighed anchor for England on the 10th day of June. We got under way about two hours before the Chesapeake, and dropped down to Cape Henry—about eighteen miles, with a light breeze. We sailed along side the *Leopard*, of 50 guns, a British ship that was lying at anchor there, and receiving from her officers a package of letters to carry to England, stood on our course for our destined port.

The *Leopard* and the frigate *Leander* of 36 guns, a sloop of war of 16 guns, and a cutter of 10 guns, all British vessels, had, for some time, been cruising off Cape Henry, watching the movements of a French frigate, then lying at Norfolk—England and France being at war at that time. These vessels had chased the French frigate from Toulon, in the Mediterranean; and it being known that she had seven millions in specie on board, the English were particularly anxious to possess themselves of it.

About two-thirds of the crew of the *Leander*, were American seamen, who had been impressed into the English Navy. There had been, a short time before, a mutiny on board the *Leander*, and the Americans had made their escape. None of the British officers, however, had been killed; they had merely been confined until the escape could be effected. Two of the American seamen who thus escaped, had entered on board the *Chesapeake*, before her sailing. One of them had a wife and five children in Baltimore, and the other a wife and seven children in Philadelphia. They had served in the British Navy, after being impressed, about four years.

The Commander of the *Leopard* had ascertained that these men were on board the *Chesapeake*, and when that vessel came up with the cape, a small boat from the *Leopard* was sent along side, and their surrender demanded. Commodore Barron replied, that he had no British subjects on board. The boat then returned. After she reached the *Leopard*, Commodore Barron was enabled to discover, by the aid of a glass, that that vessel was preparing for an attack. The Commodore made all the preparation in his power for a defense; but as no matches were ready, and the loggerheads could not soon be heated, he was in a sorry condition to meet the enemy. The *Leopard* soon came up and fired a division of guns, by which the rigging and sails of the *Chesapeake* were considerably damaged.—An attempt was now made to fire the guns of the *Chesapeake*; but the loggerheads were not hot enough to burn the priming. The *Leopard*, by this time, gave a full broadside, killing and wounding nineteen, Commodore Barron being among the wounded. That gentleman was anxious that one gun at least should be fired from his vessel; and after succeeding in getting off one, he hauled down his colors.

A boat was immediately sent to the English Commander, who was informed that the *Chesapeake* was at his disposal. He answered that he did not desire the ship, his only object being to secure the two deserters. He accordingly went on board and took the two men.

When this engagement took place, the *Wasp* was about two miles distant. We immediately put about and stood for the combatants. At the time the *Chesapeake* hauled down her colors, we were only four or five miles distant. Had she made us a signal when she first discovered that the *Leopard* meditated an attack, we might have rendered her timely assistance. Though but a sloop of war, our 180 men, sixteen 32 pound carronades, and two long 18's, might at least have kept the *Chesapeake's* colors flying a little longer.

Commodore Barron held a council with his officers, and they agreed to return to port. The expense of her repairs was fourteen thousand dollars.

After parting with the *Chesapeake*, we stood on our course for England, and made sight of Landsend on the fourteenth day. We were here becalmed, and did not reach Falmouth until fifteen days

afterward. We were quarantined at Falmouth for forty days. During this time, we had considerable sickness on board, as, in fact, we had for most of the voyage, having lost eleven of our men from distempers, and one by being knocked overboard. We then sailed to Spit Head, near Portsmouth, under a quarantine flag, where we were also quarantined for forty days.

Having remained about two weeks at Portsmouth, we took in a supply of provisions, and set sail for Loraine, in France. We were here subjected to a quarantine of forty days, soon after the expiration of which time we weighed anchor for Gibraltar. In crossing the Bay of Biscay, we met with a severe gale, and lost five men overboard. On arriving at Gibraltar, we found the *Constitution* there. She informed us that she had received orders to return home, and that all our vessels were to leave that station, there being the prospect of difficulties with England, without she should make restitution for the damage she had done the *Chesapeake*. We were ordered to sail up the Mediterranean and find the *Hornet*, and inform her that she was wanted at home. We proceeded to Malaga, Syracuse, Malta, Fez, and Tunis, in search of her, but were unable to get on her track. Supposing that she might soon visit some of those ports, we left orders in all of them, for her return to the United States. We then returned to Gibraltar, where we found the *Constitution* waiting for us, in company with which vessel, we soon afterward sailed for home.

On our voyage we experienced the most severe gale I was ever in. It continued for three days and three nights. We took in every inch of sail we could, and were obliged to cut away others.—Barren, however, as our masts were, we run for most of the time at the rate of fourteen knots per hour. We were frequently under the necessity of lashing ourselves to the rigging, to prevent our being washed away. On the second or third day, when Lieut. Mc-Donogh was at the wheel, a sea struck the weather-quarter, and sweeping him forward to the main-mast, carried him over the lee gunway. Fortunately, the end of a loose piece of rigging caught him with a half-hitch around one of his ancles, the other end of the rigging being fast. He was soon discovered, some thirty or forty feet from the side of the vessel, a part of the time under, and a part of the time above the water, and hauled on board in a state of great exhaustion. During the gale I had rather a narrow escape. I had been sent aloft to aid in launching the fore top-gallant-mast; and as I was standing on the top-sail yard, with one hand hold of the yard rope, while the men below were swaying the yard, the rope broke, and I fell backward, landing, after the descent of about forty-five feet, in the bunt of the fore-sail. Had I missed the bunt, I should have struck the deck, some fifty feet farther. As it was, the injury I received was trifling.

Both the *Wasp* and the *Constitution* arrived at Boston on the forty-second day after leaving Gibraltar.

A short time after our arrival in Boston, we sailed for New York where we arrived on the 25th day of January, 1808. We soon afterward received orders to repair and cruise off the coast, the embargo having been laid on the preceding Christmas.

While the *Wasp* was repairing, I paid my family a visit. My arrival was unexpected to my wife, the term for which I had enlisted having little more than half expired. As the remainder of the term would be served on the American coast, she appeared much more reconciled at parting with me again. We sailed about the 1st of March for Passamaquoddy, our orders being to cruise from that point to New Orleans. We remained upon the coast until fall, and then returned to New York to make repairs preparatory to our winter's cruise. At the expiration of five or six weeks, we put to sea again, cruising for most of the time to the southward. The next spring we returned to New York again, and gave our ship, rigging, and sail thorough repairs. During the three months these repairs were making, I spent the most of my time with my family. My two years having now expired, I enlisted again, and continued on board the *Wasp* until 1811. Capt. Jones now took command of that vessel, and she was sent to England with despatches.

The winter of 1811 I spent with my family, and worked the following season in the Navy Yard at New York.

CHAP. XIV.

War between the United States and Great Britain—Sailing of the Frigate *United States*—Capture of the *Macedonian*—Return to New York with the Prize—Reception—Put to Sea again—Loss of the *President*.

War was declared between the United States and Great Britain, in the month of June, 1812. I once more entered the Navy. I very well knew that we now had an enemy to face of great skill and experience, and one who could rally a powerful array of ships and men; but I considered that the Yankees were at least able to stand before any force equal to their own. I knew, too, that Commodore Decatur, under whom I was to serve, had had his skill and mettle well tried, when with the Turks; and I felt quite as safe under his command, as I should under that of any other officer in the American Navy.

Commodore Decatur had the command of the frigate *United States* of 44 guns. We put to sea, in company with two or three other vessels, early in October, in search of the enemy. On Sunday, the 25th of that month, having parted with the other vessels, we discovered a large sail to the southward and eastward. We were then in

lat. 29 N., long. 29, 30 W. The stranger was running down a little free, while the United States was on a wind, standing toward the chase, which was soon ascertained to be an enemy. The latter having come within a league, hauled up, and passed to windward, when each party was enabled to see that it had a frigate to oppose. The stranger now wore and came round on the same tack as the United States, keeping away sufficiently to get within reach of her long guns, when she hauled up on an easy bowline, with her mizzen topsail aback. At this moment the distance between the two ships a little exceeded a mile, when the Englishman opened his fire.—Finding his enemy on his weather quarter, Commodore Decatur delivered his larboard broadside, wore round, and came up to the wind on the other tack, heading northerly. It was observed that all the cannonade-shot fell short, the enemy doing very little injury by his fire.

Having passed her antagonist, the United States delivered her starboard broadside, and wore again, bringing her head once more to the southward, or on the same tack as the enemy, both ships steering rap full, with their mizzen-topsails aback, and keeping up a heavy cannonade. In this manner the action continued about an hour, the English vessel suffering heavily, while her own fire inflicted very little injury on us. At length the stranger's mizzen-mast came down over the lee quarter, having been shot away about ten feet above the deck. He then fell off, and let his foresail drop, apparently with a wish to close. As the ships got near together, the shot of our vessel did fearful execution, the fore course being soon in ribands, the fore and main top-masts over the side, the main yard cut away in the slings, and the fore-mast tottering. The United States now filled her mizzen-topsail, gathered fresh way and tacked. As the stranger was drifting down, nearly before the wind, and was nearly unmanageable, Commodore Decatur had no difficulty in heading up high enough to cross his wake, which he handsomely effected, with his people still manning the larboard guns. At the time the United States filled her mizzen-topsail, in preparation for stays, it is said that the enemy, under the impression she was about to run away, gave three cheers, and set a union jack in his main-rigging, all his other flags having come down with the several spars. When, however, as the enemy saw our ship luffing up to close, the jack was lowered and resistance ceased.

As the United States crossed the stern of the English ship, the firing having ceased on both sides, she hailed and demanded the name of her antagonist, and whether she had submitted. To the first interrogatory, Commodore Decatur was answered that the ship was the Macedonian 38, Captain Carden, and to the second, that the vessel had struck. On taking possession, the enemy was found fearfully cut to pieces, having received no less than a hundred round

shot in his hull alone. Of three hundred men on board him, thirty-six were killed, and sixty-eight wounded.

The Macedonian was a very fine ship of her class, mounting, as usual, 49 guns; eighteens on her gun deck, and thirty-two pound carronades above. She was smaller, of lighter armament, and had fewer men than the United States of course, but the disproportion between the force of the two vessels, was much less than that between the execution. In this action, the advantage of position was with the British ship until she was crippled, and the combat was little more than a plain cannonade, at a distance that rendered grape or musketry of little or no use, for the greater part of the time.—The fire of the United States took so heavily in the waist of her antagonist, that it is said the marines of the latter were removed to the batteries, which circumstance increased the efficiency of the ship, by enabling new crews to be placed at the guns that had once been cleared of their men. On the other hand, our marines remained drawn up in the waist of our ship, most of the time quite useless, though they exhibited the utmost steadiness and good conduct under the example of their gallant commander, the weight of the enemy's fire passing a short distance above their heads.

The United States suffered surprisingly little, considering the length of the cannonade, and her equal exposure. She lost one of her top-gallant masts, received some wounds in the spars, had a good deal of rigging cut, and was otherwise injured aloft, but was hulled a very few times. Of her officers and people five were killed and seven wounded. Of the latter, two died, one of whom was Mr. John Nusser Funk, the junior lieutenant of the ship. No other officer was hurt.

On taking possession of our prize, Commodore Decatur found her in a state that admitted of her being taken into port. When the necessary repairs were completed, the two ships made the best of their way to America; Commodore Decatur discontinuing the cruise in order to convoy his prize into port. The United States arrived off New London on the 4th of December, and about the same time the Macedonian got into Newport. Shortly after, both ships reached New York by way of Hell Gate passage.

We arrived as far as Cow Bay on the 28th of December, I think, where we lay at anchor until the first day of January. About three o'clock on the morning of that day, the tide and wind being favorable, we came into New York with the Macedonian as a New Year's gift, the star-spangled banner proudly waving over the British cross. We anchored between the North Battery and Governor's Island, and fired a number of grand salutes, which were answered from the Battery. Our vessels soon becoming thronged with spectators, Commodore Decatur was compelled not only to deny admittance to but to send ashore those on board, and to put back to the Navy Yard.

An invitation was soon after received by the Com., officers and crew

to repair to the City Hall, to receive, at least, a slight manifestation of the gratitude of the people toward them, for their capture of the Macedonian. The invitation was accepted, as a matter of course. At the appointed hour, the steam ferry-boat came along side, with the officers of the corporation, a number of military officers, and two bands of music. As we landed at the North Battery, we were honored by a grand salute, and received the welcome of thousands of spectators. A procession was formed, and we marched up to the City Hall, which was filled to overflowing. We even found it difficult to elbow our way through the streets, so dense was the throng. The colors taken from the Macedonian, with the star-spangled banner and the American eagle floating above them, occupied a prominent position in the procession. At the City Hall a short and appropriate address was delivered by the Mayor of the city; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, we sat down to a sumptuous dinner. In the evening we attended the theatre, where we saw the engagement between the United States and Macedonian, which had been dramatized, re-enacted. We received permission to tarry in the city until the next day, when we returned to our ship.

During the time our vessel was preparing for sea again, I remained with my family. We were ready for another cruise early in March, and sailed for New London, Sandy Hook at the time being blockaded by the British. We made the passage of Hell Gate and arrived at New London, where the United States and Macedonian were blockaded, for the remainder of the war.

Commodore Rogers having left the President, in the summer of 1814, to take command of the Guerriere, Commodore Decatur was transferred to the former ship. In the month of November, Commodore Decatur had a force consisting of the President 44, his own ship, Peacock 18, Captain Warrington, Hornet 18, Captain Biddle, and Tom Bowline store vessel. His destination was the East Indies, where it was thought great havoc might be made with the valuable trade of the English.

Owing to different causes, but principally to the wish of the government to keep a force at New York, to resist the depredations of the enemy, Commodore Decatur did not get to sea until the middle of January, 1815. The President dropped down to Sandy Hook alone, leaving the other vessels lying at Staten Island, and on the night of the 14th, she made an attempt to cross the bar. In consequence of the darkness, the pilots missed the channel and the ship struck; beating heavily on the sands, for an hour and a half. About ten o'clock the tide had risen to its height, and she was forced into deep water. Although the vessel had received considerable injury, it was impossible to return, and a strong blockading force being in the offing, it became necessary to carry sail to get off the coast before morning. It had blown a gale the previous day, and Commo-

dore Decatur, rightly judging that the enemy had been driven to leeward, decided to run along the land to the northward and eastward, as the best means of avoiding a greatly superior force. This determination was judicious, and, had not the detention occurred on the bar, it would have been completely successful. After running off in a north-easterly for about five hours, the course of the ship was altered to S. E. by E. Two hours later, a strange sail was discovered ahead, within gun-shot, and two others being soon after seen, the President hauled up and passed to northward of them all. At daylight four ships were seen in chase, one on each quarter, and two astern. The nearest vessel was believed to be the Majestic rasee, which fired a broadside or two, in the hope of crippling the American frigate as she passed, but without effect. It is now known that the enemy had been driven down to the southward by the gale, and that he was just returning to his station, when this unlucky encounter occurred.

The chase continued throughout the forenoon, the wind becoming lighter and baffling. The rasee was dropped materially, but the next nearest ship, the Endymion 40, a twenty-four pounder frigate, had closed, and as the President was very deep, being filled with stores for a long cruise, Commodore Decatur commenced lightening her. Unfortunately, the commander, all the lieutenants, and master, were strangers, in one sense, to the ship; most of them never having been at sea in her at all, and neither in any responsible situation. The duty of lightening a ship in chase, is one of the most delicate operations in seamanship, and it ought never to be attempted except by those perfectly acquainted with her lines, trim and stowage. Half a dozen more water casks emptied at one end of the vessel than at the other, may injure her sailing, and the utmost care is to be observed lest the indiscretion of inferiors in the hold, defeat the calculations of the commander on deck. On the other hand, Commodore Decatur decided to undertake this delicate operation under the most favorable circumstances that a want of familiarity of his ship would allow, as the wind was getting to be light, and was nearly aft.

It is not known, however, that the sailing of the President was at all injured by the process of lightening, for the enemy obtained a material advantage by a change in the wind. While it was still light with the American ship, the British, about 3 P. M., were bringing down with them a fresh breeze. Soon after, the Endymion, the nearest vessel, having got within reach of shot, opened with her bow guns, the President returning the fire with her stern chasers.—The object of each was to cripple the spars of the other. It is said, that on this occasion, the shot of the President were observed to be thrown with a momentum so unusually small, as to have since excited much distrust as to the quality of her powder. It is even added,

that many of these shot were distinctly seen when clear of the smoke until they struck.

By 5 P. M., the *Endymion* had got so far on the starboard, or lee quarter of the *President*, that no gun of the latter would bear on her, without altering the course. The fire of the English ship now became exceedingly annoying, for she was materially within point blank range, and every shot cut away something aloft. Still it was borne, in the hope that she would range up alongside, and give the *President* an opportunity to lay her aboard. Finding, however, that the enemy warily kept his position by yawing, in the hope of gradually crippling us, Decatur decided on a course that singularly partook of the daring chivalry of his character.

It was evident that the sailing of the *President* was much impaired, either by injuries received on the bar, or by the manner in which she had been lightened, and escape by flight had become nearly hopeless.

Commodore Decatur therefore determined to make an effort to exchange ships by carrying the *Endymion*, hand to hand, and to go off in the prize, abandoning his own vessel to the enemy. With this object in view, he determined to keep away, lay the enemy aboard, if possible, and put everything on the success of the experiment. The plan was communicated to the people, who received it cheerfully, and just at dusk, the helm of the *President* was put up, bringing the wind over the taffrail, the ship heading south. But she was so closely watched, that the *Endymion* kept away at the same moment, and the two ships came abeam of each other, when both delivered their broadsides. The *President's* attempts to close, however, were defeated, for the vessels were about a quarter of a mile apart, and as she hauled nearer to the enemy, the latter sheered away from her. Without a superiority in sailing, it was impossible for Commodore Decatur to get on board his enemy, while the latter chose to avoid him, and he was now reduced to the necessity of attempting to get rid of the *Endymion* by dismantling her. The two frigates, consequently, continued running off dead before the wind, keeping up a heavy cannonade for two hours and a half, when the *Endymion* was so far injured that she fell astern, most of her sails having been cut from the yards. The *President*, at this moment, was under her royal studding-sails, and there is no doubt, by choosing her position, she might have easily compelled her adversary to strike; but, by this time, though the night was dark, the vessels astern were in sight, and she was obliged to resume her original course to avoid them. In doing this, the *President* hauled up under the broadside of her late antagonist, without receiving any fire to injure her.

It was now half past eight, and the *President* continued to run off southeast, repairing damages, but it was found impossible to prevent the other vessels of the enemy from closing. At 11 P. M., the *Pomone* 38, got on the weather bow of the *President*, and poured

in a broadside; and as the *Tenedos*, of the same force, was fast closing on the quarter, and the *Majestic* was within gun-shot astern, further resistance was useless. Commodore Decatur had ordered his men below, when he saw the two last frigates closing, but finding that his signal of submission was not at first understood, the *Pomone* continuing to fire, an order was given for them to return to their guns, when the enemy ceased. The *Majestic* coming up before the removal of Commodore Decatur, that officer delivered his sword to her captain, who was the senior English officer present. The officer then asked Commodore Decatur, "To which vessel do you surrender?" To which the Commodore replied, "I do not surrender to any single vessel of equal force, but to the British squadron."

The *President* lost twenty-four men killed, and fifty-six wounded. She was a good deal injured in her hull, and most of her important spars were badly damaged. By one of those chances which decides the fortunes of men, among the slain were the first, fourth, and fifth lieutenants. The *Endymion* had eleven killed, and fourteen wounded, according to the published reports; but those reports were not correct; as we ascertained at Bermuda, that her killed and wounded amounted to eighty.

The *President* was carried to Bermuda, and both she and the *Endymion* were dismasted in a gale, before reaching port. The latter also threw overboard her upper deck guns. Commodore Decatur was shortly after paroled, and he and all his surviving officers and men, were subsequently acquitted with honor, for the loss of the *President*.

CHAP. XV.

Termination of the war—Superiority of the American Navy—Return of American Prisoners from Bermuda.

The war was terminated not long after this action. The navy came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of the fire, on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow, and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop of war an hour, when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe, in general action; and in some of them the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews.

It is not easy to say in which nation this unlookedfor result created the most surprise; America or England. In the first it produced a confidence in itself that had been greatly wanted, but which, in the end, perhaps, degenerated to a feeling of self-esteem and security that was not without danger, or entirely without exaggeration. The last was induced to alter its mode of rating, adopting one by no means as free from the imputation of a want of consistency as that which it abandoned, and it altogether changed its estimate of the force of single ships, as well as of the armaments of frigates. The ablest and bravest captains of the English fleet were ready to admit, that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the seas would have to be fought over again. In short, while some of the ignorant presuming and boastful were disposed to find excuses for the unexpected nautical reverses which Great Britain had met with in this short war, the sagacious and reflecting saw in them matter for serious apprehension and alarm. They knew that the former triumphs of their admirals had not so much grown out of an unusual ability to manœuvre fleets, as in the national aptitude to manage single ships: and they saw the proofs of the same aptitude, in the conduct of the Americans during this struggle, improved on by a skill in gunnery, that had never before been so uniformly manifested in naval warfare. In a word, it may be questioned if all the great victories of the last European conflicts caused more exultation among the uninstructed of that nation, than the defeats of this gave rise to misgivings and apprehensions among those who were able to appreciate causes and to anticipate consequences in a matter so purely professional as the construction, powers, and handling of ships.

Many false modes of accounting for the novel character that had been given to naval battles, was resorted to. Among other reasons, it was affirmed that the American vessels of war sailed with crews of picked seamen. That a nation which practised impressment, and had six thousand five hundred American seamen in Dartmouth prison during the war, who were impressed, should imagine that another whose enlistments were voluntary, could possess an advantage of this nature, shows a strong disposition to listen to any means but right ones, to account for the truth.

It is not known that a single vessel left the country, the Constitution on her two last cruises excepted, with a crew that could be deemed extraordinary. No American man-of-war ever sailed with a complement composed of nothing but able seamen; and some of the hardest fought battles that occurred during this war, were fought by the ships' companies that were materially worse than common. The people of the vessels on Lake Champlain, in particular, were of a quality much inferior to those usually found in ships of war. Neither were the officers in general, old or very experienced. The navy itself had existed but fourteen years, when the war commenced,

and some of the commanders began their professional careers, several years after the first appointments had been made. Perhaps one half of the lieutenants, in the service at the peace of 1815, had gone on board a ship for the first time, within six years from the declaration of the war, and very many of them within three or four. So far from the midshipmen having been masters and mates of merchantmen, as was reported at the time, they were generally youths that first quitted the ease and comforts of the parental home, when they appeared on the-quarter deck of a man-of-war.

That the tone and discipline of the service were high, is true; but it must be ascribed to moral, and not to physical causes; to that aptitude in the American character for the sea, which has been so constantly manifested from the day the first pinnance sailed along the coast on the trading voyages of the seventeenth century, down to the present moment.

An exchange of prisoners having been made, we arrived in New York on the 17th day of February, 1815. The next day intelligence of the ratification of peace was received, and on the following evening the city was illuminated. The troops formed a procession and marched through the city under arms, with a candle in the muzzle of each musket; and continued thus marching until the candles burnt out. The procession and spectators numbered, according to estimate seventy-five thousand.

In about a week after this, we were paid off and discharged. My prize money amounted to three hundred and sixty-two dollars and fifty cents, the carpenter and petty officers always being entitled to a share and a half—while the commodore receives fourteen shares, and the lieutenants six. I soon afterward returned to my family in Westchester county.

CHAP. XVI.

Difficulties with Algiers—Sailing of the American Squadron, and its arrival off Algiers—Skirmishes with the enemy—Terms of Treaty dictated to the Dey—Peace—Arrival Home—Death of four Children.

Most of the American cruisers having been withdrawn from the Mediterranean during the war with England, the Dey of Algiers commenced depredations upon the few that remained in or near that sea. Determined to inflict a salutary punishment upon the Dey, Congress, on the 2d day of March, 1815, passed an act authorizing hostility to be commenced against him.

Eighteen vessels were put under the command of Commodore Decatur, and ordered to get ready for sailing some time during the month of May following. The flag ship was to be the *Guerriere*, rated at 44 guns, but carrying 54. She was a new frigate, having

been built in 1814. I re-entered for this vessel, which, of course, was to carry out Commodore Decatur, under whom, I had so long served.

The squadron sailed from Norfolk for the Mediterranean about the 20th of May. On our arrival at Algiers, that port was immediately blockaded. A number of the vessels of the enemy were captured, and others driven ashore and abandoned. In an engagement between some of our vessels and those of the enemy, the Algerine admiral was slain.

Soon after this, Commodore Decatur offered to treat with the enemy; but they refused to give up the American prisoners in their possession unless the United States would pay them a high sum and a yearly tribute. Another attack upon the city was therefore resolved upon by our Commodore, if more favorable terms of treaty could not be obtained. He accordingly collected all his cruisers, and running into the harbor, came to anchor within musket shot of the batteries—springs being attached to our cables, so that we could bring our guns to bear in any direction we chose. The Commodore then sent a flag of truce on shore, with word that he would give the Dey thirty minutes to sign the proposals which had been drawn up; and that in case of his refusal so to do, the city should be leveled with the ground. The Dey returned the flag, requesting Decatur to come on shore. The flag was sent back to the Dey again, accompanied with the hint that the time allowed him had nearly expired. The Dey hastened on board. Decatur told him that, according to the articles of treaty, he was required to liberate his prisoners, of all nations, and to pay for the damage he had done the American vessels and allowed the British to do to those within his jurisdiction. The Dey replied that he could not pay America; for if he did, other nations would make the same exaction of him. He consented, however, to accede to the terms proposed, if America would send him a few barrels of powder yearly, inasmuch as he did not manufacture the article himself. Beside, this would prevent other nations from making an unconditional demand upon him for the damage he had done their shipping. Commodore Decatur's reply was, "You can have the powder, but you must have balls with it." The Dey, having seen enough of American balls, immediately attached his signature to the treaty.

The difficulties with Algiers having thus been adjusted, we set sail for home. On arriving at Gibraltar, we found Commodore Bainbridge with eighteen vessels, one of which was the Independence 74, the first line-of-battle ship ever sent from the United States. The Independence was Commodore B.'s flag ship, and bore his broad pennant. That officer immediately upon our arrival, ordered Commodore Decatur to haul down his pennant from the Guerriere, and his vessels to join his (Commodore B.'s) squadron;—but Decatur refused doing so, saying, that he had worn his pennant at the mast head of the Guer-

riere from the time of his leaving America, and should return home with it flying from the same place. Decatur added that he had completed the work for which he had been sent to the Mediterranean, without the assistance of Bainbridge or his vessels ; but still, if that officer had arrived before peace had been made, he should have given up the command to him.

We soon set sail for the United States, where we arrived in November, 1815. We were paid off and discharged, and the shipping laid up, the United States being then at peace with all nations.

I returned to my family in Westchester county, and remained with them until the following spring. I then commenced work in the New York Navy Yard, and continued there until fall, where I sold my house and lot, and removed to Dutchess county, where I purchased a small farm, and again commenced the coopering business. I found business very good ; the country was rich and delightful ; my preferences for the water were one by one removed by the domestic happiness with which I was surrounded ; and I was equally rejoiced at the change both in my pursuits of life and in my location. But I was soon called to drink deeply of the cup of affliction. The small pox, which had been for some time committing its ravages in the neighborhood, reached my little circle, secure as I had supposed it to be ; and in the course of one week, the four youngest of my five children fell victims to that disease. Reader ! are you a parent ?—And have you watched, day by day, and night by night, over the couches of the little ones whom God had given you, and seen them waste gradually away, under sufferings the most severe, and sink, one after another, into the cold embrace of death ? It were needless then, for me to attempt by the use of language, a description of the harrowings of soul I experienced at a loss so sudden—overwhelming.

In the village of Poughkeepsie, about one hundred and fifty died of the same disease. It created quite as much panic in that section, as the cholera did in 1832.

I remained with my family in Dutchess, working at my trade, and doing a little at farming, about six years.

CHAP. XVII.

Difficulties with the Pirates—Sailing of the Squadron to chastise them—Description of Key West—Capture of a number of Piratical Vessels—Execution of One Hundred and Forty-Five Pirates—Return Home.

Being in New York, early in January, 1823, I ascertained that a squadron was fitting out for the West Indies, to chastise the pirates, who had been for some time committing serious depredations upon the American merchant vessels. Commodore Porter, who was the first lieutenant of the Philadelphia, at the time of her capture by the

Turks, insisted upon my enlisting and going out with him to Key West, which was to be the head quarters of the squadron. I agreed to do so. I returned home to inform my wife of my intentions, and to make the necessary arrangements for the convenience of my family during my absence.

On arriving at New York I found Commodore Porter nearly ready for sailing. Most of his vessels were at Norfolk, where we soon proceeded to join them. The Commodore had recently purchased a small steamboat that had for some time plied between New York and Cow Bay, on Long Island; and the squadron consisted of this boat, which carried fifty men and six brass pounders, and eight small schooners, each of about eighty tons burthen, and carrying one long 18 pounder, two twelve pound carronades, and thirty-six men, including officers; also, two larger schooners, the Shark and Grampus, each of 14 guns, and the Decoy, a store ship in disguise, carrying sixty men and eight 12 pounders.

We sailed from Norfolk for Key West in April, and made the passage in eighteen days. The only building on the island was a small house which had been built and occupied by the pirates. Key West lies on the edge of the Bahama banks, and is about ninety miles from Havana, (Cuba) and about the same distance from Matanzas.

We landed twelve pieces of cannon, and threw up the breast work of a small fort for the protection of our stores, when our vessels might be cruising. We had timber, framed and ready for putting up, sent out for four or five buildings. These were soon raised and enclosed. One of them we used for a hospital, one for a store house, and the other for dwellings. They were to be guarded, during the absence of the squadron, by one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty-five marines. There was no water on the island, and at first we were under the necessity of bringing all we used from Cuba. After the erection of our buildings, we attached cisterns to them, and caught nearly as much water as was wanted for drinking and culinary purposes. We soon after received materials for, and erected some fifteen or twenty additional buildings, as also shops for carpenters, coopers, and blacksmiths, rigging and sail lofts, &c. We soon had quite a Navy Yard and a convenient harbor for small vessels.

We also built twelve barges, each being propelled by sixteen or eighteen oars, and carrying a number of small arms and one seven-barreled blunderbuss, each barrel of which carried twelve musket balls. These barges drew about three feet of water.

Not long after our arrival at Key West, we one day discovered a schooner of three guns, and containing a crew of about seventy pirates. We gave her chase, but she soon ran aground about fifty rods from the shore. All the pirates made their escape with the exception of five, who could not swim. These we secured. We got the schooner off without much damage to her cargo, which consisted principally of merchandise. She also had on board about sixty thou-

sand dollars in specie. The pirates whom we captured were executed.

Soon after this, we drove another piratical schooner ashore, the crew of which numbered sixty or seventy, all of whom made their escape.

On the fourth of July, 1824, while we were lying at Matanzas, a vessel came in and informed us that there was a piratical schooner down some thirty miles to the leeward of that place. Four of our vessels (two schooners and two barges) were lying at Matanzas at the time, having just arrived there from a cruise around the island of Cuba. We immediately set sail for the pirate. The wind being ahead, the barges rowed close in along shore, while the schooners had to beat to the windward. I was on board one of the barges, both of which outran the schooners.

On arriving in sight of the piratical schooner, we found her lying at anchor in a bay, near three merchant vessels that she had calculated upon plundering the following night. Capt. Watson commanded the eighteen oar barge; and Lieut. Brainbridge the sixteen.—They were at a loss whether to attack the pirate or not. They carried one long 18 pounder, and two 12 pound carronades, and seventy-two men. Captain Watson finally concluded that he would take her by boarding, to which we all agreed.

The Captain then gave orders to Lieutenant Brainbridge to run under the starboard quarter of the pirate, and reserve his fire until the signal was given—while the Captain was to run his barge under her starboard bow. I was stationed forward at the blunderbuss, on Capt. W.'s barge. We ran within pistol shot of the pirate, when she fired her 18 pounder upon us. The gun was loaded with grape and cannister shot, but we were so near the charge fortunately pass-over our heads. Capt W. then gave orders to fire. We fired our blunderbuss and muskets, killidg about one-half of the pirates. One of our barges boarded the starboard side of the pirate, and the other the larboard, at the same time, and found little difficulty in obtaining possession of her.

Those of the pirates who could swim, jumped overboard and attempted to gain the shore, but one of the barges pursued and killed all of them before they reached the shore, with one exception, and he was shot down immediately upon leaving the water. Those who did not jump overboard were of course secured. Thus, of the seventy-two pirates, not one escaped to tell the fate of his comrades.

We took our prize in tow, and had got fairly out of the bay before the schooners came up. We ascertained our prize to be a merchant schooner that had been cut out of Matanzas about two weeks before our taking her, well loaded with provisions. These having been disposed of, her cargo, when we captured her, consisted principally of merchandise which had been plundered from other vessels.

We took her to Key West, and in taking out her cargo, we found

stowed away between the timbers and limber plank, about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in gold and silver. The schooner was returned to her owners, and the pirates taken on board of her, nine in number, executed by order of Commodore Porter.

During the time we were at Key West, our squadron captured about twenty small boats belonging to the pirates; but the principal part of their crews generally succeeded in making their escape.

I was on board the schooner *Tarrier*, commanded by Captain Rose, during one of her cruises around the Island of Cuba. About eight o'clock one morning, we spied a sail close in to the land. We had a good sea breeze, but the stranger was becalmed. We stood for her, but when within four or five miles of her, became becalmed also. We then manned our sweeps, the *Tarrier* carrying eighteen of thirty two feet. The stranger, whose crew we discovered to number some sixty or seventy, also manned her sweeps. Her force was so strong we saw there was little prospect of gaining upon her, and had to content ourselves by giving her a few of our 18 pound shot, but they did not reach her. We then determined to give her a chase, and applying ourselves to our oars, pursued her until about ten o'clock at night, when the shade of the land hid her from our view. We ran down the land to Cape Antonio, without again seeing her. We concluded we had passed her during the night. A breeze springing up in the morning we returned back, and in the afternoon discovered her in tow of an English schooner. The previous night, while this schooner was lying in a bay at the Isle of Pines, the pirate put in and came to anchor. The vessels did not discover each other until daylight, when an action took place between them. There was not much damage done on either side. The pirates, knowing full well that death would be their portion were they captured their vessel, and as many of them as could made their escape. The fire, however, was extinguished by the English before it had done much damage. We learned that the vessel had two hundred thousand dollars in gold and silver on board, and regretted that we had not been her captors.

Soon after this, a British brig of fourteen guns and eighty men took a piratical schooner of 22 guns and about three hundred men. The engagement lasted six hours. One hundred and twenty-five pirates were taken alive, the remainder having been killed. All of those who were taken, I saw hanged in one day at Kingston, Jamaica. The execution commenced at ten o'clock in the morning, and lasted until about four in the afternoon. Twenty-five were hanged at a time. The impression made upon my mind, at seeing so many of my fellow-beings, reprehensible as their pursuits must have been, thus hurried, prepared or unprepared, into the presence of their Maker, can never be obliterated.

The pirates now being generally subdued in the vicinity of Key West, Commodore Porter sailed with most of his vessels to the

Spanish main, to route some living there in a cave. These had three pieces of cannon placed at the mouth of the cave; but they all fled when we landed, with the exception of an old Spaniard, covered with rags and scars, and supposed to be one hundred years of age. We secured the cannon and a considerable amount of property.

Leaving three vessels to watch the pirates, and a company of marines to guard Key West, we sailed for New York in the summer of 1826. Our captain, Francis F. Gamble, died on the passage, off Cape Hatteras, of the yellow fever.

CHAP. XVIII.

More of Death's Doings—Leave the Navy—Misfortunes—A Tour to the West—Orleans County House.

Shortly after my arrival in New York, I proceeded to Dutchess county, and found that death had again visited my family. Its victim was my wife. She had died about three months previously.—Though my eldest and two youngest children were left me, a sensation of loneliness gradually stole upon me, which, the varied scenes of seventeen years have not yet overcome, and which death alone can remove. That I was not reconciled to this afflictive dispensation of Providence, must be attributed to an unsanctified heart. I could not then subscribe to the doctrine that God dealt in mercy by all his creatures, else I should have kissed the rod that so sorely chastised me.

Upon the death of my wife, her sister removed into my house, to take charge of the two youngest of my children—one a daughter, in her sixth year, and the other a son about three years of age.—My oldest child, a son, then about twenty years of age, had some time previously entered the navy, where he yet remains, if alive.—I have not heard from him for about four and a half years, at which time he was at the Key West station, and held a lieutenant's commission—the vessels at that station being under the command of Commodore Shaw, an uncle of mine.

I entered into an agreement with my sister-in-law, by which she was to take care of my two youngest children until they should become of age, and give them a good education; in consideration of which, I deeded her my house and lot. My wife's clothing was also to be preserved for my daughter, until she should become of age.

I then settled up my business and went to New York. Learning that the sloop of war Concord, Captain Ballard, was about sailing for the East India station with despatches to the American vessels there, I entered for the service. We sailed in September, 1826, and had a pleasant voyage. After remaining there until November,

1827, we set sail for New York, which port we made the following January.

Leaving the Navy, I returned home, and found another vacant seat around my hearth—my youngest child having died during my absence. I soon afterward started for Troy, where I worked at the coopering business about six months. I then went to Oneida county, and remained there nearly two years, after which I paid my daughter a visit. I afterward returned to the western part of this state. In 1832, whilst in Cayuga county, I was afflicted with the inflammation of the eyes. They soon became so bad that I was unable to work. I remained in this condition about two years. I had about five hundred dollars when this affliction first came upon me;—but as it was rapidly disappearing, by the payment of my boarding-house and doctor's bills, without any relief being experienced, I concluded to go to New York, and place myself under the care of Drs. Rogers and Delafield. Their bill for board and professional services, was two dollars and fifty cents per week. After remaining there fifteen months, I so far recovered my sight as to be able to work at my trade.

On leaving New York I went to Herkimer, on the Mohawk, and after working there six or eight months, went to Buffalo. Not being pleased with the place, I started for the east again. Having reached Orleans county, about the first of October, I was seized with the fever and ague, and my means becoming exhausted, I was obliged, much against my will, as the reader may well imagine, to go to the county house. This was in 1836.

Recovering my health, in a good measure, soon afterward, and being well acquainted with tools, the keeper wished me to remain. As winter was near at hand, I concluded to remain until spring, knowing that my labor, at least, would prove an equivalent for my expenses. My health being rather poor in the spring, I was offered a small salary to work in the shop and the keeper's garden until fall.

The keeper and his family were very kind to me, taking the best care of me when sick. I always had enough to eat and to drink, and that of a wholesome quality. Those of the inmates who conducted themselves orderly, were treated with humanity; but those who were disorderly, it became necessary to punish, that the discipline of the institution might be preserved.

The following January, I had the misfortune to break my ankle, directly above the joint; and was unable to labor until about the first of April. The superintendents now determined upon building a cow house, twenty-two by sixty feet, and a shed, fifteen by thirty-six feet, and offered me the job. Though I never laid out a building, I accepted the offer and went to work. Being obliged to use a crutch I labored under great disadvantages, and could not accomplish more than half as much as I should, had I the free use of both of my legs. By the time the buildings were raised, however, I was able to walk

without the use of my crutch, and succeeded in inclosing them before harvest. The labor on the buildings was valued at one hundred and fifty dollars.

The next fall the superintendents offered to give me fifty dollars to purchase cooper's tools with, if I would work for them thro' the winter, on tubs and pails. I accepted the offer and worked until spring. They then agreed to furnish me with stock, if I would give them one half of the proceeds of the sales, and pay one dollar per week for my board. I commenced in March, and by the first of January, the sales of my work amounted to three hundred dollars. Soon after this, my health became feeble, and I was confined to my bed for fourteen weeks. After recovering it, I commenced work, which I continued until August, when I finally left the institution.

CHAP. XIX.

A Visit to Michigan—Sickness—Return to Rochester—Monroe Co. House—Kind Treatment from all connected with the Institution.

Wishing to see my daughter and a sister, who had about two years previously removed to the vicinity of Grand River Rapids, Michigan, I determined to pay them a visit. I started about the 1st of September. This was in 1840. I had two sets of good tools, one for patent work and the other for oak work, and money enough to bear my expenses. On my arrival in Michigan, I learned, very much to my disappointment, that my daughter had removed to Illinois, about six hundred miles distant. Having an acquaintance in Northville, Wayne county, I proceeded to that place, and after hiring a shop and getting out a stock of timber, went to work. I was soon afterwards taken sick, and was not able to work any that winter.

The next spring, finding my health still poor, I sold my tools and started for the east. I stopped in this (Monroe) county, and after being here until September, finding that I was failing with old age and ill health, I was obliged to go to the county house; and I bless my Maker, as the reader will soon discover I have abundant reasons for doing, that he ever directed my footsteps to that institution.

I was able at that time to work a few hours each day at light work. I always found enough to do, and did not require driving to do it. In Joshua Tripp, Esq., the keeper, I found a gentleman of humanity and a christian. His family were very attentive to my wants, and soon won my affection by the kindness that marked all their intercourse with me. I never stood in need of anything, when sick or well, that they did not furnish me, if it were in the house; nor do I remember of their ever using a harsh word toward me.—The family are what they profess to be—christians. They set good

examples before the inmates of the house; and I verily believe they "do to others as they would be done by."

There are always more or less in every institution of this sort, who will not obey its rules and must therefore be punished. There are others, again, who will find fault if they are used ever so well. I believe, however, that those who make the loudest complaints of ill usage, are among the ignorant of other nations, who do not know when they are *well* treated.

I am satisfied that the inmates of Monroe County House can take as much comfort as people in general. Their labor is not hard, their living is good, their clothing decent, their lodgings comfortable, and when they are sick they have a physician and kind nurses.—There is preaching on the Sabbath for their especial benefit, and schools where their children may be educated. If, under such circumstances, they are not happy, they have no one to blame but themselves. Their meat, their bread, their milk, and their butter, are the same as those used in the family of the keeper. They are not confined to any particular kind of food, and can generally have anything which an appetite not vitiated, usually craves. Indeed, I doubt whether one half the people, either in the city or country, live as well as the inmates of this institution.

I cannot, in justice to my own feelings, conclude this chapter, without bearing testimony to the good will which the superintendents have ever manifested toward me. Mr. Thompson, in particular, has extended to me various offices of kindness, which can never be forgotten.

CHAP. XX.

Indisposition—Convicted of Sin—A Dream—Conversion—Union with God's people—Fruits of the Revival.

About the first of January 1843, I took a violent cold, which soon settled upon my lungs. I became very much reduced, and considered it doubtful whether I should ever recover. I was troubled with a severe cough, and a pain in my breast and side.

A new minister, (the Rev. Mr. Brooks,) commenced preaching at the County House about that time. I had heard but few sermons on the Sabbath for about forty years, until those preached by Mr. Brooks. When a young man, I had founded my hope on Universal Salvation, which doctrine I adhered to for about twenty years. I afterwards became a believer in Restoration. Still, there were some doubts in my mind, and my conscience was not at ease. After hearing the sermon spoken of, I became convinced that my doctrine was not founded upon the Bible, and that if I died in the condition I was then in, I should forever be miserable. The plain, pun-

gent truths presented by Mr. Brooks, by showing me the wickedness of my heart, gave me great uneasiness for some days.

Mr. Tripp and his family, learning my state of mind, invited me one morning into their apartment to attend family worship. I joyfully accepted the invitation. During their devotions prayers were offered for me, but the load upon my mind still remained.

In addition to preaching on the Sabbath, prayer-meetings were held three or four evenings each week. Most of these meetings I attended. Some two weeks after the sermon alluded to, several of the inmates became convicted of their sins. For my own part, I found no relief. My sins weighed heavily upon my mind; and I almost despaired of ever seeing the smiling face of my Savior. I had long been a sinner, paying little heed to the warning and advice I had received in early life; and I feared that God's Spirit could strive with me but little longer.

I remained in this situation about three weeks, when, one night, I had a very pleasant dream. It appeared to me that I was at the Isle of Patmos, in the Mediterranean. I was lying on my back, in the bottom of a small sail boat, and had a white covering over me, resembling a sheet. With the exception of a light swell that gently rocked the boat, there was a perfect calm upon the water. As far as the eye could extend, I beheld thousands of boats around me, with one person in each, and with a covering similar to my own.—They all wore a pale though a contented countenance, and not a word was uttered by any of them.

During this vision, I was in a most happy state of mind and body; but when I awoke I found my pain as severe as ever. In relating this vision to Mr. Tripp the next morning, he gave the following interpretation: The boat represented the ark of safety; the white covering, Christ's robe of righteousness; and the people, the saints in heaven.

For a week or two after this I felt very unhappy. I had about given up all hopes of obtaining a forgiveness of my sins. I had sinned against my own light and knowledge, and thought myself beyond the reach of mercy. These fears, at one of our Tuesday evening meetings, particularly oppressed me. I knelt down and attempted to pray, but regarding my prayer as that of the wicked, I thought I could never prevail with God. The Christians present gave me many words of encouragement, and besought me not to relax my intercessions. They afterward wrestled mightily with God in my behalf, and I have reason for believing that their efforts were not in vain.

I retired to bed about 11 o'clock that night. After being racked with pain both of body and mind for two or three hours, I renewed my supplications at the throne of grace; and, blessed be God, he granted a listening ear, and spoke peace to my soul! The doubts and fears with which I had long been ground to the very dust, were

now dispelled, giving place to a tranquility of mind never before experienced. Old things seemed to have passed away, and all things appeared new.

But I need not attempt an expression of my feelings—my pen, equally with my tongue, is incompetent to the task. Those only who have experienced the goodness of God in the forgiveness of their sins, and have had their hearts for the first time warmed with love to him, can appreciate my feelings at the time. I felt as though I had entered upon another voyage, under a new Commander; and resolved, through his help, to remain with him during life, not doubting that if I served him as faithfully as I had the old commander under whom I had served for seventy-two years, and who had at last cast me off upon the cold charities of the world, I should, at the end of life's voyage, be landed in the haven of rest, where neither want nor suffering is known.

Since that night, I have taken more real comfort than I had before during the whole of my life; and my prayer to God now is, that I may remain faithful unto the end, and that he may grant me grace so to live that I may not bring a reproach upon his cause, nor hazard the safety of my own soul.

About the first of March I received the ordinance of baptism at the Second Baptist Church in Rochester, and about the twentieth of that month, received the right hand of fellowship, as a member of the church. I may remark, in this connection, that between the first of January and the first of May, of this year, about one hundred and thirty-five united, upon a profession of their faith, with the Second Baptist Church, and about the same number with the First Baptist Church. There have also been great accessions to most of the other churches, of different denominations, in the city—the past winter having been remarkable for the copious outpouring of God's spirit in this vicinity. Of the inmates of the County House, some twenty-five profess to have passed from death unto life, and a number of backsliders have been reclaimed. There are also many now under conviction. Oh, that they might realize the truth of the declaration of God, that his Spirit "shall not always strive with man," and whilst it is called to day, ground their weapons of rebellion, and make their peace with him.

CHAP. XXI.

The Old Ship Zion—Her Commander, Crew, Regulations, Destination, &c.

The reader has already been informed, that for many years of my life I have sailed in different ships and under different commanders.—I shall devote the last chapter of this work to the description of the ship on board which I am now sailing, and expect to sail during the voyage of life.

The old Ship Zion is a trustworthy vessel. Though she has sailed for many years, her timbers are sound, her spars, rigging, and sails are good, and her anchors and cables are sure.

Her destined port is recommended as one of surpassing beauty, and as possessing a safe anchorage.

The same Commander who first sailed her, continues to sail her still. His name is Jesus Christ. The vessel is not, however, fully manned, and is continually beating up for volunteers, to whom a great bounty is offered, even life everlasting. All classes of people—old and young, lame, halt and blind; male and female—who will comply with the rules and regulations of the ship, are invited to take passage.

The Commander is an able Physician, and can cure all diseases.—He has not only given sight to the blind, and made the lame and halt to leap for joy, but he has even cured those possessed of the devil.

The rules and regulations of the ship you may peruse at your leisure, on shore. You will find them in the New Testament.

The labor on board is easy. It is necessary, however, to watch continually, and keep a good look-out, for fear of running afoul of the enemy; and young recruits must often be drilled, to make good soldiers of them, and to enable them to fight successfully the fight of faith.

The crew neither hunger nor thirst, nor are they in want of clothing; for they are supplied with the bread of life and the pure waters of salvation, and are clothed with Christ's righteousness.

There are but few deserters, and most of these, after finding neither peace nor comfort on shore, penitently return and sue for forgiveness, upon the bended knees of their souls.

May God bless all of you who are out of this good old ship; and may you all be induced to enter on board before she finally pushes out from the shore, and is beyond your reach.





A. SHEPARD.

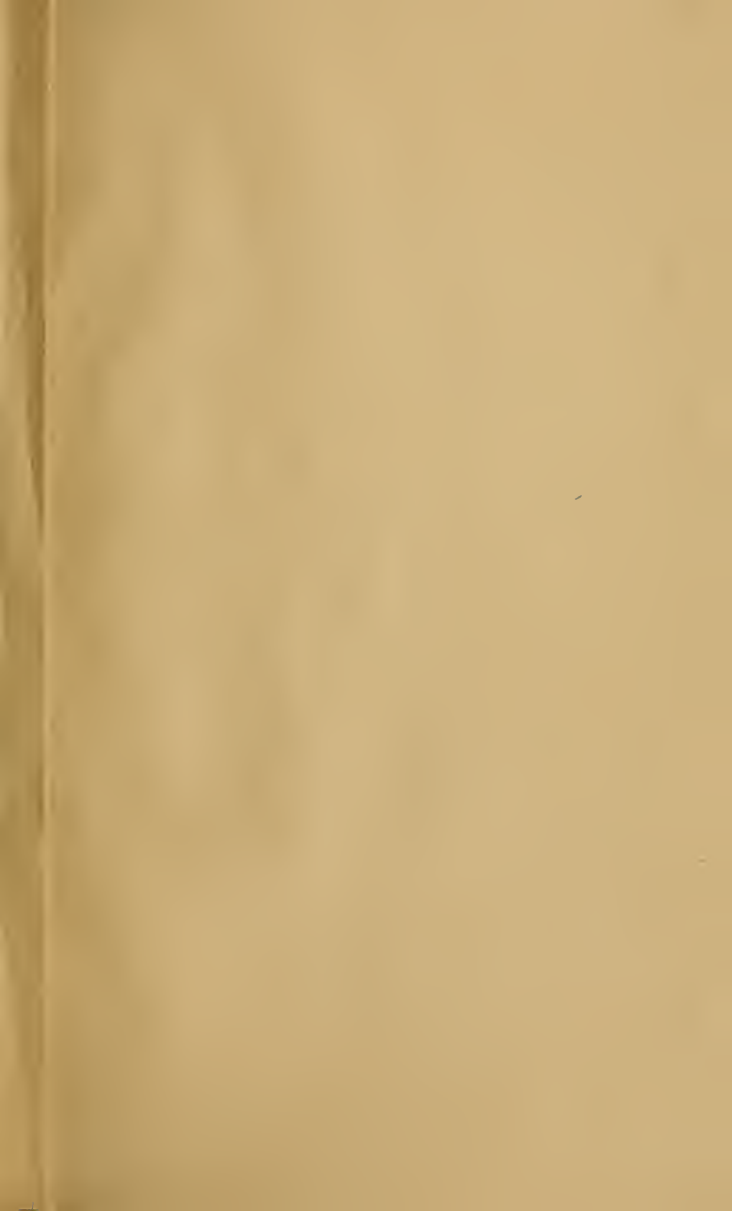
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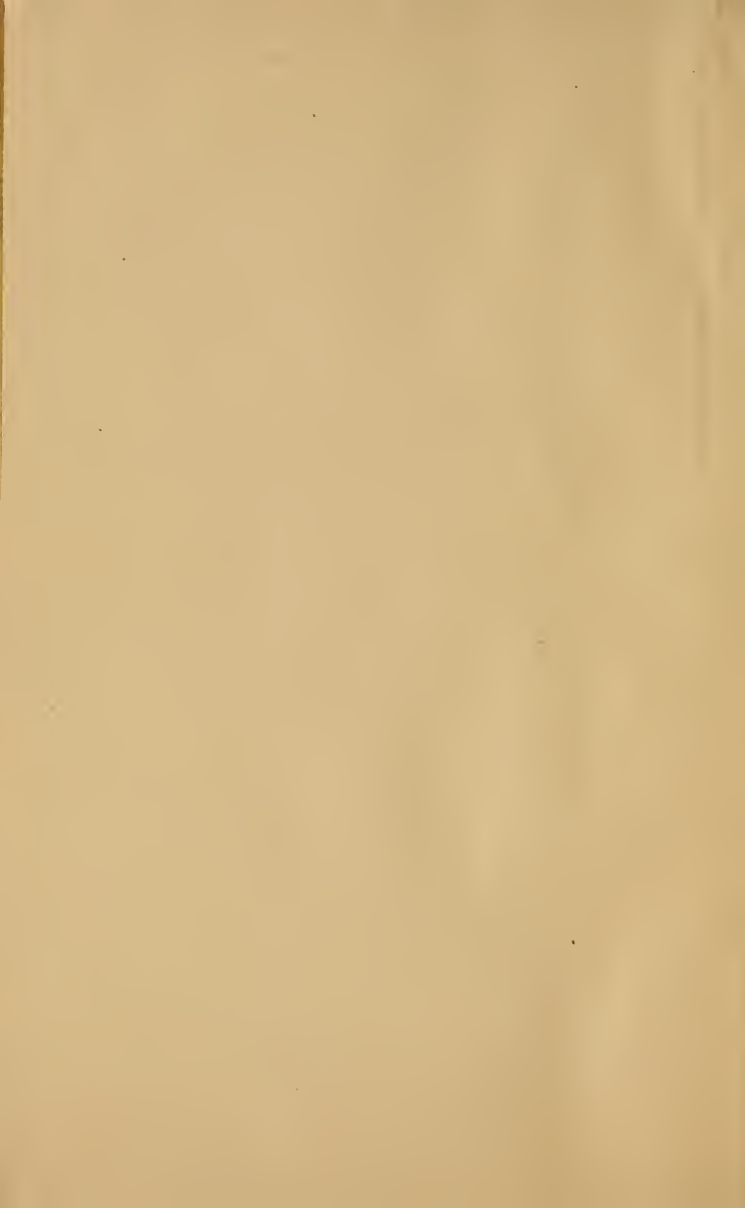


“IN PEACE, PREPARE FOR WAR.”

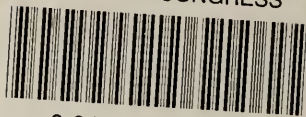
☞ “The New York State Statistical Almanac” and “The Franklin Almanac” for 1846, are published at this office. Pedlers and merchants will do well to call. ☞ Cheap for Cash.







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